Buddhists of Kaśmīr

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Preface

The vision which the educated public and even the non-orientalist historians possess of the ancient Indian religious history is on the whole quite reduced : Buddhism which has, from Aśoka's time to the Hephtalits' invasions held a first place on the Indian cultural scene, enters a phase of decline after the death of Harṣa and the journey of Hiouan-ts'ang. The Huns have dealt on monastic Buddhism a blow from which it will not recover. Everywhere the great Chinese pilgrim has only met with ruins and empty monasteries. The zeal of Harṣa could give some revival to the Church. But after his death, the philosophical propaganda of Śaṅkara and his followers gains to the Vedānta all a thinking elite and the glow of *bhakti* cults, particularly fit for exalting the religious sensibility of the popular masses, succeeds in draining the faithful to the sects of Hinduism. Only Bengal and Magadha, where the Pālas protect the *dharma* of the Tathāgata, Ceylon and Nepal (which already are no more India) gather still many Buddhists. Muslim invasions, by destroying the universities of Magadha and Bengal, deal the last blow on the community and the last faithful laybrothers, deprived from the support of the clergy, are absorbed by Hinduism. Buddhism, by the way, had deeply changed, if not degenerated, and through the intermediary of "Tantrism" had, for a long time already, bordered on Hinduism in its cult as in its mythology. The purity of discipline had unbent among the ecclesiastics and an abundant magic, touched by gloss, had replaced the austerity of the eightfold way or the sublime abnegation of the beings of *bodhi*. Simultaneously,

in the arts — literary or plastic — the taste, the sensibility, the spirit of the piece of work, whether they were of a Buddhic or of a Hinduistic inspiration, have subtly changed.[1]

But nothing is simple and clear in history, in India less than anywhere else. There exists always a way of baffling the more subtile judgements. What does it matter? History is a piece of art the structures of which and the masses of which only appear thanks to a certain schematism : a judicious stylization is necessary to draw the movement of history; every author shades the shape to his own manner, by letting room for the inflexions of life, the whims of chance. A great Indianist declares :

> "Buddhism, still enriched by frequent donations till the 8th century, as the inscriptions tesitfy, is no more than an accident in Indian soil, from the next century".[2]

A subtile historian tries to disclose an evolution :

> "Harṣa is in India the last great Buddhist sovereign. Though material prosperity and intellectual blossoming for which testifies the relation of Hioun-ts'ang, it is undeniable that Buddhism was slowly going on the wane in India in front of a Brahmanical, still pacific but continuous, revival...Time for brutal persecution was going to start."[3]

A contemporary Indian author introduces the restrictions which nearer surround the reality :

> "One cannot deny that by 9th century Buddhism indeed ceased to be in India an essential religion. Perhaps it still went on existing for a long period in some isolated centres, as Nalanda, as a philosophical school. But as a real popular religion, it vanished at the eve of 9th century. The movement had in fact started much earlier, since from the beginning of 7th century, Yuan Chwang had remarked the decline of Buddhism in many important centres."[4]

1. On this point, see our contribution concerning literature in *Histoire scientifique et culturelle de l'Humanite*, U.N.E.S.C.O., Vol. III, Paris, Robert Laffont, 1968.
2. Sylvain LÉVI, *Grande Encyclopédie* XX, p. 698.
3. R. GROUSSET, *Sur les traces du Bouddha*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1957, in-16, III-313 p., p. 182.
4. K.M. PANIKKAR, *Histoire de l'Inde*, trad. franf., Paris, 1958, in-16, 396 p., p. 160.

Finally a brilliant specialist of Buddhic studies, while deploring that historians neglect too often the last phase of the development of Buddhism in India, cannot help putting a judgment of value on what appears to him to be a degradation :

> "Most of the historians of Buddhism ignore deliberately this "annoying" aspect of the Indian tradition; but this omission does not go without any serious inconveniences."[5]

But finally were the old masters of Nālandā and Vikramaśīla simply thaumaturges or acrobats of the sexuality ? Has Buddhism been so radically evicted, as one thinks it, from certain Indian provinces as in the Tamil country where Śivait sectarism not only persecuted Jainism but also went on fighting against Viṣṇuism ? Does the charter of Sahet Mahet, written in 1128, under the reign of the Gāhaḍāvala king Govindacandra[6] not mention a Buddhist monk, Vāgīśvararakṣita, from the Cola country ? Everything proves that Buddhism continued to live on intense scholastic, speculative and mystic activity upto the Turco-Afghan invasions of Aībek, and even then Buddhism was not so radically eliminated as one could believe it.[7]

However many of the works bearing testimony on that glow have disappeared under their original form in the turmoil which fell upon India around 1200, the violence of which can be appreciated thanks to the relation made by the Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī of the taking of the "fort" of Bihār, after the recitation of two ocular vouchers : "Most of the inhabitants of that place were Brahmins and the totality of those Brahmins had shaven head. And all of them were killed." When the vanquisher wanted to know what contained the numerous books of the library, he could not find anyone to explain it to him. One understands therefore that the so-called fort, which Muḥammad-ibn-Bakhtyār has so easily

5. Louis de LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Bouddhisme. Opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique*, p. 344.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 25.
7. After a Corean inscription, an Indian monk named Dhyānabhadra heard, at the beginning of 14th c., a presentation of the *Avatamsakasūtra* at Kāñcīpura (A. WALEY, New light on Buddhism in Mediaeval India, *M.C.B.*, I, p. 363).

conquered, was only a college, what Buddhists call a *vihāra*.[8] Thus vanished a great university, perhaps the one of Vikramaśīla, and this crime against civilization is today imputed to the eagerness of a temporal expansion of a spiritual doctrine. The historian must however remember a remark by Tāranātha who softens this culpability : Indian garrisons had been installed in the university of Odantapurī and Vikramaśīla, under the pretext of assuming their protection.[9]

A great part of the original documents which would permit us to know this Buddhism have disappeared because of such a destructive wrath. But they were preserved in translation, thanks to the admirable zeal of new converted ones who were the Tibetans and to the apostolic activity of their Indian masters. It is in the Tibetan canon, in the two collections of the *Bka'-'gyur* and the *Bstan-'gyur*, that it is fitting to research information concerning late Indian Buddhism. Secondarily, the Tibetan historians furnish with very precious but always suspected information.

The topic of this present historical study is precisely to show with the help of Tibetan sources, the prolific activity, during the last centuries preceeding the islamization, of the Buddhists of an Indian province, which was the most prestigious cultural centre of North-Western India. Due to its geographical situation at a cross-point of Asia, in the neighbourhood of the great international itineraries, Kaśmīr was determined more than any other one to participate to the exchanges between great civilizations. And it was isolated enough to suffer only the repercussions of the conflicts which have agitated the Asiatic continent.

Indeed, late Indian Buddhism is not nowadays *terra incognita*. It remains however unperfectly explored, very far from it. This simple survey of itinerary, similar to those drawn sometimes so unskilfully by the travellers crossing half unknown lands, cross-checks more general fields, which one has not hesitated occasionally to glide over, such as the

8. RAVERTY, *Tabakāt-i-Nāṣirī*, II : *Bibl-Ind.*, p. 273, quoted by Ishwari PRASAD.
9. *T.N.*, 254.

Buddhic logic, called very probably wrongly "Tantrism", the evangelization of Tibet and the elaboration of the Tibetan canon. For, there is no Kaśmīri Buddhism presenting distinct characteristics, there are only but Kaśmīri Buddhists in relationship with the other contemporary centres, in particular those of Magadha : numerous Kaśmīris taught at Vikramaśīla while Buddhists from other areas came and worked in Kaśmīr. Popular aspects of Buddhism, very remote from the teaching of the doctors, offer, on the other contrary, local, episodic, sometimes pictorial features, that the historian keen on evoking in its details, even the more common, the spirit and the environment of an epoch could not disregard.

This work juxtaposes an inventary of the activity accomplished by monks or laics originating from Kaśmīr, formed in Kaśmīr or working in Kaśmīr, and on the other side the general considerations which this information require. The Kaśmīri example, replaced in its surrounding, must therefore contribute to a better cognizance of the late Indian Buddhism.

Abbreviations

A.M.K.	*Ancient Monuments of Kaśmīr*, by R.C. Kak.
A.S.I.	*Archaeological Survey of India.*
A.S.R.T.	Annotated translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, by M.A. Stein (the following number designates the canto and the *śloka*, in translation, and, eventually, the note).
B.A.	*Blue Annals* (the following number designates the page of the English translation by Roerich).
B.B.	*Bibliotheca Buddhica*, Petrograd, then Leningrad.
Ep. Ind.	*Epigraphia indica.*
E.S.M.	*The Mine of precious stones*, German translation by A. Gruenwedel.
G.O.S.	*Gaeckwad's Oriental Series*, Baroda.
I.H.Q.	*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
J.A.	*Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
J.R.A.S.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.
M.C.B.	*Melanges chinois et bouddhiques.*
P.S.J.Z.	*Dpag bsam ljon bzaṅ*, edition of S.C. Das.
R.H.R.	*Revue d'histoire des religions*, Paris.
R.T.	*Rājataraṅgiṇī* (followed by the numbers of the canto and of the *śloka* in the edition of Bombay, 1892).
T.N.	*History of Buddhism in India*, by Tāranātha (the following number refers to the page of the German translation by Schiefner).
V.P.B.	*Voyages des pelerins bouddhistes* (the numbers of the volume and of the page follow).

Important Note

The abbreviations ***Bstod, Rg., Mdo*** refer to the sections ***Bstod-tshogs, Rgyud-ḥgrel*** and ***Mdo-ḥgrel*** of the ***Catalogue du fonds tibètain de la Bibliothèque nationale***, by P. CORDIER.

The works of the ***Bka'-'gyur*** are indicated after their number in the ***Complete catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon***, published by the Tohoku Imperial University.

1

Preamble

Kaśmīr plays a lofty role in the history of Buddhism. In crossing Kaśmīr, during the course of the north-west Indian journey accomplished by the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivadin, would not Buddha himself have declared : "The kingdom of Kaśmīr is where it will be easiest to lead the religious life. For contemplation and meditation, will that be the best place"?[1] Kalhaṇa, who is not unaware of the preponderance of the *Saṅgha* in Kaśmīr during an early epoch, brings very much confusion to the theme. It is quite probable that, following his habit, he has used concurrently very diverse sources, staying close to his informants to the extent of quoting them nearly word for word : some Buddhistic, and on the contrary, some violently hostile to the *bhikṣu* that they seem part of an evil which the brahmin Candradeva finished.[2]

1. According to the translation of PRZYLUSKI (Le nord-ouest de l'Inde dans le Vinaya des Mūlasarvāstivādin, *J.A.*, Nov.-Dec. 1914). According to Léon FEER, this is how the *Vinayakṣudrakavastu* expresses that prediction : "Bhagavat said : The land of Kaśmīr is the best abode for the *dhyāna* and *samagra*" (L'introduction du bouddhisme dans le Kashmir, *J.A.*, Dec. 1865, pp. 486-487).
2. *R.T.*, I, 177-186. That explains how the sentiments of Kalhaṇa towards Buddhism and Buddhists have been presented in styles so very diverse. A. Stein underlines the benevolence of Kalhaṇa : "it is curious to note side by side with it (his close attachment to Śaivism) the manifestly friendly attitude which Kalhaṇa displays towards Buddhism throughout the whole of his Chronicle" (*A.S.R.T.*, Vol. I, p. 8). Nevertheless, in some places, for instance in the above-quoted paragraph, Kalhaṇa shows himself to be very severe towards the Buddhists.

According to the legendary tradition, confirming and explaining the preponderance of that school of thought in Kaśmīr, moreover extended throughout the whole of north-west India, the Sarvāstivāda would have been introduced into Kaśmīr by Mādhyantika, from the reign of Aśoka. The editing of the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin is assured well after the time of Piyadassi and of the five hundred *arhant* come to establish themselves on the banks of the Vitastā. But there are good reasons for thinking that the text originated from Kaśmīr[3] and his Chinese translations, like the venerable fragments rediscovered at Gilgit, furnish on occasion certain information about Kaśmīr that it would be wrong to neglect. The *Mahāvibhāṣā*, the *Great Exegesis*, lost in Sanskrit but known through its Chinese translation, examines, alongside the opinion of masters from Gandhara and other provinces, that of the early master-teachers of Kaśmīr; according to La Vallée Poussin, it is "a compilation established by teachers in Kaśmīr",[4] although preparation of it be traditionally attributed to a council of five hundred monks convened at Jālandhara, in the foothills of the Upper Punjab between the rivers Beas and Sutlej. Indeed, it could have been produced in the *sarvāstivādin* environment of Kaśmīr a little after the time of Kaniṣka, perhaps in the third century of our era. A summary of that *Vibhāṣā*, translated into Chinese in 383 by a Kaśmīri named Saṃghabhadra, may be also the work of a monk of Kaśmīr, whose Sanskrit name is concealed in the Chinese transcription : Che-t'o-p'an-ni.[5]

Having become the holy land of Buddhism, the high Himalayan valley, in its twin, had to contribute to the "gift of the Law". It did so with honour. Its geographical situation, at the boundaries of India, of Persia, and of central Asia, was destining it to play a great role in the spreading of Buddhism. We are very badly informed about the westward expansion of

3. This is the opinion expressed by S. LÉVI (*J.A.*, Jan.-Feb. 1915, p. 60).
4. Louis de LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Dynasties et Histoire de l' Inde...*, p. 339.
5. For all concerning relations between Kaśmīr and China we abridge P. DEMIÉVILLE, Les Sources Chinoises, *L'Inde Classique*, tome II, pp. 398-437.

Buddhism toward the Persian provinces : it is not impossible that some Kaśmīris may have participated in it and are to be found among the teachers of the Iranian adepts of the Buddha, persecuted at the end of the 3rd century, when Kartīr was *magupat*.[6] A long series of Kaśmīri monks, who combined at the same time a high standard of learning, both linguistic and exegetic, with the audacity of explorers, contributed in any case to translating the teaching of the Buddha into the languages of Central Asia and into Chinese. The most ancient translators, as far as one can extricate their origin from legend, were Sogdians, Yue-tche, Koutcheans and Parthians; Kaśmīr is the first Indian province to enter on the scene, from the time of the 4th century, not yet so much for furnishing translators as for contributing to their formation.

When eight years of age, Kumārajīva (344-413), son of an Indian monk and a Koutchean princess, arrived with his mother at Ki-Pin, which is without any possible doubt Kaśmīr. There he studied the *Mādhyama āgama* and *Dhīrga āgama* with a master named Bandhudatta, before going again to Central Asia, to Kachgar, and then to Koutcha where he met the Kaśmīri refugee Vimalākṣa, who became his instructor. Vimalākṣa is the first Kaśmīri known to get as far as China : like his pupil he was taken there by Lou-kouang after the conquest of Koutcha. Thereafter the translations which Kumārajīva directed at Tch'ang-ngan, and still more the personal comments sometimes therein mingled, contribute in an interesting manner toward acquainting us with the state of Buddhism in Kaśmīr in the 4th century : for it is his personal Buddhism, all impregnated yet with the teaching of his Kaśmīri masters, that the Koutchean used to comment upon in front of his Chinese listeners.

6. An inscription of Naqs-i-Rustam mentions the persecution of "Jews, Buddhists, Brahmins, Nazareans, Christians, and Manicheans" (J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, Paris, 1953, p. 137). It is necessary to add to that already long list the Mazdaism and various gnostic sects, in order to have an idea of the religious cosmopolitanism of Iran before Islam. That neighbourlines of beliefs so varied was favourable to speculative and mystic activity, which was not without influence on Buddhism, as seen, for example, in Sogdian Buddhism.

Buddhabhadra, who accomplished at Nankin a piece of work comparable to that of Kumārajīva at Tch'ang-ngan, belonged to the same epoch, and he also came to Kaśmīr to complete his education. There he was instructed by a famous teacher, Buddhasena, at the same time as a Chinese monk from Kan-sou named Tche-yen. Buddhasena was interested in *yoga*—which is a precious pointer for the historian : the Chinese were very fond of such disciplines and, among the writings translated by the Iranian Ngan che-hao, was already figuring the *Mahānāpānasmṛtisūtra*, the "great *sūtra* on the attention applied to inhaling and exhaling the breath", also a fragment of a *Yogācārabhūmi*, attributed to Saṃgharakṣa, native of Surāṣṭra, but who, according to a Kaśmīri legend would have lived in Gandhāra; be that as it may, it was in order to translate a manual of Buddhasena, precisely entitled *Yogācārabhūmi*, that Tche-yen would have urged Buddhasena to accompany him to China. Buddhasena did never return to India, but the monk from Kan-sou had the courage to undertake again the journey to Kaśmīr, where he died.

Another Kaśmīri master of *yoga*, at the begining of the 5th century, was Dharmabhikṣu, who also attracted to himself Chinese students at a time when numerous other Kaśmīris, less famous, were making their way towards China, while some Chinese were coming to Kaśmīr, to study "what they were calling the *dhyāna*, that is to say, a Buddhistic form of Yoga, purified and spiritualised, which was being cultivated in that country with predilection."[7]

The population movements which, in the 5th century, threw into disorder the Eurasian world and were having repercussions on India at the end of that century and in the first half of the 6th, did not interrupt those international relations, but Kaśmīr in particular suffered from that historic seism, in which Buddhism was sorely tried. The history of the depradations of Mihirakula is related differently by Kalhaṇa, by Song-yun and by Hiouan-ts'ang. The Hephtalite had dared—oh sacrilege !—to break the begging bowl of the Buddha, which was being preserved piously in a convent near Śrīnagar, and

7. Paul DEMIÉVILLE, *ibid.*, p. 401.

it required nothing less than a prophecy to reassure the Buddhists that the "holy sebile", as S. Lévi[8] calls it, would reconstitute itself. According to Hiouan-ts'ang, Mihirakula, having lost all, was welcomed by the king of Kaśmīr, but the cruel Hephtalite assassinated his host, then attacked Gandhāra where he destroyed all the convents. Kalhaṇa does not mention the persecutions of Mihirakula against the Buddhists : with equal crualty he used to pursue everybody with maltreatments : moreover, it is certain that he more willingly attacked the "shaven heads". That is indeed what Sylvain Lévi supposes. In reporting a passage from Kalhaṇa—certain people "held him for a generous donor who rebought his faults by granting concessions of land to the brahmins",—that author comments : "In other words, the brahmins of Kaśmīr were quite disposed to pardon him the evil he had done to the Buddhists."[9]

The ruins that Hiouan-ts'ang describes with so much sadness confirm that destruction was recent. From this, one can only think that the period of grandeur of Kaśmīri Buddhism was drawing to a close. Moreover, historians of Buddhism have believed themselves to have found proof of an early degeneration of Buddhism in Kaśmīr. In particular they have again brought up the mention in the work of Kalhaṇa, of married monks and property owners : "Kaśmīr had its married Bhikṣus long before Kalhaṇa's time",[10] Aurel Stein tells us. La Vallée Poussin has not allowed himself to leave that datum without exploiting it. He alludes to it twice : in his *Histoire de l'Inde depuis Kanishka jusqu'aux invasions musulmanes* ("married bonzes in the time of Kalhaṇa"), and in a manner still more categorical in *Bouddhisme. Opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique :* "A day is coming (he writes on page 341) when, in certain provinces, even the notion of monastic life is disappearing : Kaśmīri convents sheltered, the Nepalese convents shelter bonze, bonzes and petty friars." The description is doubtless applicable to modern Nepal. It is assuredly exaggerated as referring to Kaśmīr in the 12th century. Here is

8. *L'Inde civilisatrice*, Paris, 1932, in-16, 268 p., p. 202.
9. *Ibid.*. p. 205.
10. *A.S.R.T.*, Vol. I, introduction, p. 9.

exactly the information of Kalhaṇa : the queen Yūkadevī, one of the wives of Meghavāhana, had a magnificent *vihāra* constructed at Naḍavana. "In one part she placed the religious whose conduct was conforming to the rules, and in the other those who, possessing wives, children, cattle and goods, were meriting the reproof in quality of heads of family".[11] Aurel Stein, commenting on this passage also approximates that degeneration with what is happening in Nepal quotes a passage from Hodgson, communicated to him by Alfred Foucher, the very same source from which La Vallée Poussin draws his reference to Nepal. In fact, the indication of Kalhaṇa refers to an ancient era impossible to specify but definitely before the Middle Ages. It is precisely at that epoch that Buddhism would have been reformed, thanks to the action of the king and of his wives, in particular the pious Amṛtaprabhā It certainly seems abusive to use, in order to prove degeneracy of Kaśmīri Buddhism in the Middle Ages, information concerning a period which precedes the magnificent flowering of Sarvāstivāda on the banks of the Vitastā (Jhelum). One would even be able to go further and turn back the argument : if that tendency in morals was appearing so scandalous to Kalhaṇa, it is because during his time it had not become current. It would be necessary also to ask oneself what could have been the significance of such a mode of life, if it was in fact being practised by certain religious—which is not impossible.

Behaviour contrary to the normal, and even scandalous, is (we will have only to repeat it at too many occasions) a way of affirming independence in relation to the society contingent to that which has installed itself in cognition of the reality of the "supreme sense" of the *Paramārthasatya*, that is to say, of universal vacuity. At all times it has been possible for it to exist : the *Samādhirājasūtra* was already taking to itself bad monks, who far from arresting the course of their vices, affirmed them by sophisms more or less sincere (passage studied by J. Filliozat during his course at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris). In the Buddhistic sources he used, Kalhaṇa was able to come across such cases, quoted precisely as examples to shun. That is not sufficient proof of the corruption of the whole of the community.

11. *R.T.*, III, 12.

Even if one abstains from interpreting in an abusive manner that passage from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, it is necessary to recognize that indications furnished by Indian sources are meagre, and hardly permit of regarding with suspicion any survey of Buddhistic learning in Kaśmīr during the centuries which precede the musulman conquest. However, in that India of the north-west, invaded by the *mleccha*, Kaśmīr remains a pure conservatory of Sanskrit culture, where even women understand Sanskrit,[12] whereto one comes from distant Bengal to terminate one's studies,[13] where a jurist like Medhātithi, a story-teller like Somadeva, a busy-body, of talent, if not of genius, such as Kṣemendra, a chronicler such as Kalhaṇa, published works of spirit so diverse; where, finally, under the impulsion of thinkers as subtle and as penetrating as an Utpaladeva and an Abhinavagupta, develops a philosophic and mystic Śivaism perfectly original yet respectful toward āgamic orthodoxy. The fecundity of Buddhism, is it then diminishing in that citadel of the Sarvāstivāda at an hour when ruin is menacing the old monasteries rich with so many souvenirs ? One would be inclined to believe as, if one were holding strictly to the text of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which is not, it is true, a work of history in the sense in which we understand it : the magnificent flowering Śivaite thought is not mentioned therein anymore than Buddhism.[14] In his *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, Kern points out the principal Buddhistic foundations, and the only conclusion he can offer is that : "pagan kings were often giving proofs of goodwill and were not forgetting the spiritual affairs of their Buddhist subjects."[15] He does not name a single one of the paṇḍits,

12. BILHAṆA, *Vikramāṅkacarita*, XVIII, 6 :

yatra strīṇām api kiṃ aparaṃ
janmabhāṣāvad eva,
pratyāvāsaṃ vilasati vacaḥ,
saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ ca.

13. KṢEMENDRA, *Deśopadeśa*, VI.
14. Only one verse alludes to it : "At the time of Avantivarman, the illustrious Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and other *siddha* descended on earth for the good of the people (*R.T.*, V, 66).
15. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 476.

monks or laymen, whose learning was the grandeur of Kaśmīr Buddhism in the Middle Ages.

On the contrary, the catalogues of the Tibetan canon frequently mention Kaśmīri authors or translators belonging to the period occupying us. Several times, there is likewise mention of the Kaśmīr in Tāranātha and many more again in other Tibetan texts, in particular in the *Blue Annals* : we have there a mine which has been exploited since the end of the 19th century, in particular by Sarat Candra Das. A little, later at the commencement of the century, Satis Candra Vidyābhūṣaṇa, in his book *The Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, is the first to insist on the importance of Kaśmīr for Buddhistic studies, an importance equal, according to him, to that of the Magadha. Giuseppe Tucci, in his turn, was declaring in 1933 ; "Moreover, Kaśmīr was then (around the year one thousand), one of the places where Buddhism profoundly prospered not as a State religion but as a homeland of ones of the greatest doctors and exegets of that epoch" (*Rin c'en bzaṅ po*, p. 38).

CONSIDERATIONS OF METHOD

Giuseppe Tucci's book offers a synthesis almost perfect for a phase important but of short duration. On the contrary, that of Satis Candra Vidyābhūṣaṇa, in reference to logic, skims over all the history of Kaśmīri Buddhism in the Middle Ages, but it contains errors that it would be fruitless to emphasise : the picture it presents was quite remarkable in its day, if one takes into account the limited documentation at the author's disposal. But Vidyābhūṣaṇa relied too much on his sources, that it is to say, above all on Tāranātha, and this is the reason why, in many cases, he did not deem it useful to furnish references : this it is impossible for the reader to verify some affirmations perhaps correct, but which cannot be taken into account, since they border on errors.[16]

16. Let us cite at least one example : Vidyābhūṣaṇa affirms that Dānaśīla, "a contemporary of Jinamitra, Sarvajñadeva and Tilopa, was born in Kaśmīr about 899, when Mahīpāla was reigning in Bengal". That astonishing precision would lead one to believe in the existence of very exact data. But no light granted us on the process which (*Contd.*)

Now, the Tibetan sources (even a summary examination reveals it very quickly) are subject to caution; their information, sometimes contradictory, always fragmentary, calls for a twofold task of criticism and synthesis. The few indications furnished on writings, their authors and the translators in colophony and in the title of Tibetan translations are, *a priori*, more worthy of confidence : the odds are strong that, in the majority of cases, they are of the same date as the translations, although successive editors have been able to add certain precisions more or less desirable.

Very simple in principle, very much more delicate in application, the method used consists then in packing out, in the catalogues of the Tibetan canon, all mentions of Kaśmīr, of work carried out in Kaśmīr, of Kaśmīri personalities; then to set up, with the help of the same catalogues, an inventory of the work accomplished by those Kaśmīris. And already certain ambiguity presents itself : for if the mention of "Kaśmīr origin" is clear, that (much more frequent) of "from Kaśmīr" lets hang a certain perplexity : does it involve a learned scholar, Kaśmīri by origin who, if he established himself elsewhere, would hardly interest the history of Kaśmīri Buddhism, indeed, or a monk belonging to a Kaśmīri monastery, or again of a stranger residing in Kaśmīr ? Because, basically, whether Sarvajñamitra[17] be, as is pretended, the son of a king of Kaśmīr, carried off in infancy by a vulture, matters little to us : what is of importance to us is that he lived and taught in Kaśmīr; more precisely, Kalhaṇa tells us, at the Kayyavihāra : that he was then bestowing on the cultural movement of his time, on the banks of the Vitastā, the farment of his thought and of knowledge he had in part received elsewhere.

The task would be easy, if identification of authors and translators does not pose such delicate problems : often it is most difficult to recognise one same author under the different

permitted arrival at that precise data. Dānaśīla, Jinamitra and Sarvajñadeva belong to the end of the 8th and to the start of the 9th century (*cf.* Chap. III). Tilopa was the teacher of Nāropā (end of 10th and first half of 11th century) (*cf.* Chap. IV). The reign of Mahīpāla began about 988 (*cf.* below, panel II).

17. See below, p. 74.

names he received and to distinguish various personages, bearing the same name. Nevertheless, these difficulties should not astonish us : for example, there exist, in the history of Catholicism, several saints Francis, not always distinguished from each other by precising Xavier or Régis, of Assisi, of Sales or of Paule : moreover, one is not compelled to know that the naming of Poberello, of "apostle of Viverais" or of "apostle of the Indies" designates one of them. Similarly, in the history of Buddhism, surely there existed several Nāgārjuna, and the one who lived at Ṣaḍarhadvana, on the site of the present village of Hārvan to north-west of the Shalimar gardens, was perhaps not the celebrated philosopher *mādhyamika*; two Dānaśīla lived in the Middle Ages, one at the beginning of the 9th century, the other about four centuries later. In this way, it is necessary always to beware of being too suspicious : there does not seem room to distinguish artificially two Rin-cheṅ bzan-po and two Śākya blo-gros, with the sole purpose of segregating the collaborators of Janārdana.[18]

On the other hand, the names of Indian authors and translators present themselves at each instant in Tibetan sources, truncated, amputated of certain of their parts and sometimes deformed. The suffixes at the end of composite words (*-bhadra; -mitra*; *-vajra*) have evidently a value on which perhaps the disciplinary texts would be able to enlighten us, but they are often overlooked.[19] Kanakavarman, a Kaśmīri of the 9th century and Kanakaśrī, a Nepali of around the year 1200, are both spelt simply Kanaka. Tāranātha informs us (p. 235) that under the name of Prajñākara are designated a lay member of the faithful, Prajñākaragupta, and a monk, Prajñākaramati, but only scholars are aware of that difference, and therefrom results much confusion. These abbreviations

18. *Répertoire du Tanjur* of Marcelle LALOU, pp. 211 and 213. Moreover, one fails to understand how a work, offering good wishes to a prince Śahi of the second half of the 10th century, would have been translated in the 8th century : Janārdana is not a contemporary of Khri-sroṅ lde'-bcan.

19. It is thus, that, in the ritual discribed by the *Hevajrasekaprakriyā*, the master who does the initiation attributes to the disciple a name commencing with the *Śrī* and ending with *-vajra* : *Om vajrasattvaṃ tvām abhiṣiñcāmi vajranāmābhiṣekataḥ he Śri-amukavajra iti nāma kuryāt*. (L. FINOT, *J.A.*, July-Sept. 1934, p. 25).

are so much more regrettable, as the name of the disciple often encloses an element of the name of the master-teacher. Master and disciple having hold during the same epoch and in the same *milieu*, it sometimes becomes very difficult to distinguish them. Likewise, among so many works, minor it is true, attributed to Guhyaprajña, Prajñāgupta, Prajñārakṣita, Jñānaguhya—names which appear occasionally under such forms as Prajñā, Gupta or Guptapā[20]—it is nearly impossible to determine with certainty those that have been written by the red Ācārya.[21]

One single individual disguises himself sometimes under names slightly different ; even when it concerns adepts of the Mantrayāna, under names of initiation or surnames where nothing more exists—neither their secular appellation nor the name they received at ordination : Tailikapāda (Tillopa), for Prajñāgupta, and Nāḍapāda (Nāropā) for Yaśobhadra, etc. Tāranātha cites the case of a layman, named Puṇyaśrī, who was ordained under the name of Puṇyākaragupta, and who was known elsewhere by the name of Mahāvajrāsana![22]

Happily, in this work of identification one is aided by various components. It is convenient at the beginning to set apart the object of the reasearch to which authors and translators devote themselves : the community of preoccupations furnishes an index not to be neglected but sometimes deceptive. In transmissions of treatises on logic one meets two Dharmakīrti, the famous author of the *Pramāṇavārttikakārikā* and one of his distant disciples. In fact it is normal to adopt the name of a predecessor who was illustrious in the sphere of scholarship in which one is interested, unless—which often happens—one be considered a reincarnation of an ancient master. It is known that the tome *ña* of the Mdo-'grel encloses a *Saṃcayagāthāpañjikā* of the *ācārya*

20. Let us note once for all that we spell the suffix *-pā*, which is found at the end of the average Indian name of numerous master-teachers with *ā* (Sanskrit-*pāda*), in order to avoid confusion with the Tibetan *-pa* of Marpa, Mi-la ras-pa, etc.

21. See below p. 172 and n. 50.

22. See below the case of Padmasambhava, p. 108 and above all that of Nāropā, p. 178.

paṇḍita Buddhaśrījñāna "chief disciple of *ācārya* Seṅ-ge bzaṅ-po", and indeed, one knows a Buddhaśrījñāna, disciple of Haribhadra. The following tome, *ta*, opens a work of which the title, very much longer claims to be one of Haribhadra's work, the *Abhisamayālamkāravṛtti*, the author of which is again a Buddhaśrījñāna, adorned this time with pompous titles : *Śrī dharmasvāmin bodhisattva paramapaṇḍita sarvabhūtaguru mahāpaṇḍita*. No hesitation is possible about the personality of that writer who collaborated in translation of his work with the *lo-cā-ba* Byams-pa'i dpal. It refers to the great Buddhaśrījñāna who lived at the end of the 12th century and at the beginning of the 13th : it is therefore fitting to admit existence of two authors bearing the same name and both interesting themselves in the *Prajñāpāramitā* of 8,000 stanzas, joint interest perhaps explaining joint possession of name. If the information in the catalogues be exact, the first of those writings dates from around the year 800, the second from about 1200. But, in such a delicate case it is also necessary to think that an error could have been committed and, for example, that the *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛtti*, written by the first Buddhaśrījñāna, could have been translated by the second, nearly four centuries later.

The qualifications and titles attributed to the most eminent master-teachers in general do not carry exactitude, save certain exceptions : when a Jinamitra and a Jinabhadra receive a title so precise as *Āryamūlasarvāstivādavinayadharakāśmīravaibhāṣika*, one can scarcely ask oneself if it indeed concerns the same personage But sometimes, instead of adding to the name, titles are substituted. Now, a designation like *dgon-pa-pa* [*āraṇyaka*] or *bsod-sñoms-pa* [*paiṇḍapāṭika*] does not suffice to identify a personage without ambiguity. Several authors are named Kha-che pan-chen (Mahākāśmīra paṇḍita) "the great paṇḍit of Kaśmīr", including Subhūtiśrīśānti and Śākyaśrībhadra. Furthermore, the same remark goes for the Tibetans : there are two *lo-chen*, "great translators", Rin-chen bzaṅ-po and Blo-ldan śes-rab, and two *lo-chuṅ*, "little translators", Legs-pa'i śes-rab, and Grags-'byor śes-rab, and that is the open door to much confusion, particularly dangerous in the course of research, for initial mistrust entrains successive errors "en chaine".

Biographical data furnished on the epoch, province or monastery of a writer or of a translator are often decisive. But the most valuable pointers concerns the translators, since this time it is not an isolated personage that one finds again, but a team : in the majority of cases, the Tibetan translations have been done by an Indian teacher and a Tibetan translator or, as Tibetans say, by a *paṇḍita* and a *lo-cā-ba*. It is very little probable that two homonymous Indian *paṇḍita* would have collaborated with two *lo-cā-ba* equally namesakes.

This long work of analysis is followed by a synthesis which is, firstly, regroupment and classification of data collected. In this way certain personalities commence to stand out in relief, for a piece of literacy work describes an individual better than a name or a short biographical notice. Chronological placing of translators is obtained step by step by establishing "families" of contemporaries : the *paṇḍita* who have worked jointly with one particular *lo-cā-ba* are in fact contemporaries-persons whose periods of activity partially overlap. In such conditions, two contemporaries can belong to different generations, and two contemporaries of a third person are not necessarily themselves contemporaneous. In Tibet, the most important *lo-cā-ba* are famous and their biography relatively wellknown : in particular, the period in which they lived is inscribed in the chronology of Tibetan history. In a case where the *lo-cā-ba* who have helped to date a *paṇḍita* are themselves persons unknown, one can try to find out whether they collaborated with other Indian masters, of date fixed with sufficient precision : thus, a Kaśmīri collaborator of a *lo-cā-ba* disciple of the great reformer Atīśa, come to Tibet from the Magadha in 1042, belongs approximately to the second half of 11th century. In general, certain crosschecks will result in confirming and sometimes specifying the first indication.

The period of authors who did not collaborate in the Tibetan version of their work is sometimes more difficult to perceive. The translation date furnishes only a *terminus ante quem*, but, although filiations between master and disciple sometimes bring some supplementary information, it must be taken into account : authors remain less wellknown than the translators

of their work. Chronological placement of the great commentators of Dharmakīrti, the Prajñākaraguptā, Yamāri, Śaṅkarānanda—remains an enigma despite dates proposed by Stcherbatsky,[23] which dates, moreover, one does not know much about the groundwork. It was indeed necessary, in the chronological exposition, to resolve to opt for a hypothesis different from that of Stcherbatsky, but there is no question of disguising its fragility.

That first job once terminated, only then does one resort to the roll of the Tibetan chronicles, therein to research biographical data on the Kaśmīri teachers thus inventoried. This time information from all sources is welcome since certain material is prepared for their criticism. Now it goes without saying that this distinction of two faces, imposed by the method, corresponds more to a state of mind than to two separate stages of development of research. In fact, goings and comings and frequent confrontations impose themselves, but preference is always accorded to the indications which translations from Indian texts furnish and which Tibetan chroniclers were already using as sources, as we ourselves are doing.

At the end of that work many obscurities, many uncertainties remain : we have decided to emphasise them, instead of trying to disguise our ignorance by assertions founded on simple conjecture. It is thus that some rare Kaśmīri Buddhists have not been able to find placement in the chronological classification : it has been necessary to resign oneself to naming them only in the alphabetical list presented in the appendix. Above all, while we are relatively well informed about the periods when contacts were existing between India and Tibet, we remain ignorant about the activity of Indian Buddhists during those 80 or 140 years that the persecution in Tibet lasted, between 841 or 901 and the commencement of the "second propagation of the Doctrine" toward 980. We have there a problem which we admit not to have known how to resolve and which is linked to that of the Tibetan chronology : for the gravity of that gap depends on the duration of the eclipse of Buddhism in Tibet, that is to say, from the epoch

23. See below, p. 124.

(middle of the 9th century or commencement of the 10th) upto which were able to work the numerous translators who, at the time of the "first propagation of the Doctrine", accomplished so vast a task.

THE SOURCES

Indications supplied by colophons of Tibetan translations about authors of ancient texts and their translators have been carefully collected by the editors of the catalogues of the Tibetan canon. The *Catalogue du fonds tibetain de la Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris* undertaken by P. Cordier (*bstan-'gyur* of Pekin), continued by Marcelle Lalou (Index of the *bstan-'gyur* and *Catalogue* of the *Mdo-maṅ*) remains the easiest to consult and also the most detailed. Unfortunately, it is incomplete, as the first volume, which should describe analytically the *bka'-'gyur* (edition of Narthang) was never published. For that part of the canon one has therefore had recourse to the catalogues of H. Beck, of L. Feer, of the Otani Daigaku and, above all, of the Tohoku Imperial University.

As to the writings of the Tibetan historians, they are of very unequal value. Certain, and these are the most recent, would furnish only an insignificant amount of documentation, scarcely important, and it is hardly to be regretted that they have not been translated into European language.[24] The *Dpag-bsam ljon-bzaṅ*, written by Sum-pa mkhan-po ye'-ses dpal' byor under the 5th Dalai-lama (in 1748), easy to consult thanks to the analytical index, which accompanies the edition of S.C. Das,

24. The *Ba'i-du-rya dkar-po* of SAṄS-RGYA RYA-MCHO, regent of the 5th Dalai-lama, written in 1687, whence Sandor CSOMA de KÖRÖS extracted in 1836 the chronological table attached to his *Tibetan Grammar*, completes on certain points the antique chronicles, but his style, copied from the *Kāvya*, presents difficulties that a tibetanist as distinguished as H. Hoffmann does not hesitate to qualify as insurmountable.

The Chos-'byuṅ bstan-pa'i-padma rgyas-pa'i ñin-byed, composed during the 16th century by PAD-MA DKAR-PO, judging it from the extract published by G. Tucci in his book concerning Rin-chen bzaṅ-po, furnishes data abundant but mingled with clumsy errors (Jinamitra and Śīlendrabodhi contemporaries of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po). We have not been able to use it, and references to that work are borrowed from G. Tucci (*op. cit.*, p. 52).

permitted P. Cordier a certain number of identifications,[25] but it is important to check his indications carefully by means of other sources. In no case would one be able to put forward an averment of Sum-pa mkhan-po as a decisive argument.

The *Annals* of Ladakh were likely to be of interest, especially in nearby Kaśmīr. Luciano Petech has shown that, in spite of their recent publication, they are not unworthy of trust : for the antique periods they agree with the *Chos-byuṅ* of Bu-ston, and are supported by the same documents as were used by the most venerable of the historians of Tibetan Buddhism.[26]

The most valuable sources are also the most ancient. Nearer to the events they relate, they merit more confidence. Legend increases with the centuries and errors accumulate. But, very fortunately, Tibetan Buddhism has had two remarkable historians, both belonging to the sect of the Sa-skya-pa and to the spiritual posterity of the great paṇḍit of Kaśmīr, Sākyaśrībhadra : Bu-ston riṅ-po-che, who in 1322 put the finishing touches to his *History of Buddhism* and the *lo-cā-ba* of 'Gos, Gzon-nu dpal, author of the *Blue Annals* finished in 1478.

Those two essential works have both been translated into English by two masters of Tibetan studies, Obermiller and Roerich.[27] The first furnishes a frame, chronologically reliable but relatively meagre; the second a work of profuse richness, sometimes a little intricate; it swarms with information precious but scattered, and it is necessary to regroup and sometimes to interpret. Understanding is rendered difficult by

25. It is for this reason that we only know through the *P.S.J.Z.* the identification of Tillopā and of Prajñābhadra and that of Nāropā and of Yaśobhadra. It is to be understood, from this simple example how the poverty of our information can render precious a work however uncertain.
26. *A study on the chronicles of Ladakh*, Calcutta, 1939.
27. The third part of the *Chos-'byun* of BU-STON has not been translated. It is indeed certain that it supplied on numerous points data new and precious confirmations. But it certainly is not likely to contradict what one otherwise knows about some points of minimum interest, as known by Tibetan historians. The *Red Annals* of KUN-DGA RDO-RJE (*Deb-ther dmar-po*), which date from 1346 accessible today in the Tibetan text, have not yet been made the object of a translation.

allusions to facts well known to the author and in the ecclesiastical milieu to which he was addressing himself, but of which we only acquire always partial knowledge and that very slowly and thanks to long frequentation. Unfortunately, even with Bu-ston and Gzon-nu dpal, contributors of sources fragmentary and of diverse value that they need to interpret to compare and to reassemble, errors are not rare. With them an authentic critical spirit of historian is not incompatible with the most naive credulity and on the whole, one can fall into agreement with Erich Frauwallner, when he qualifies the Tibetan tradition as "so late and so corrupted".[28]

But it is above all Tāranātha in whom it would be important to be able to put one's trust. Now, that great historian of the commencement of the 17th century[29] is both the best and the worst of informants. One cannot recapitulate all that the history of Buddhism owes to him : but he is also responsible for many errors, in particular for those of S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa. *The mine of precious stone* or *Book of the seven revelations* with *The story of the 84 magicians*[30] supplies the best part we possess on the mysterious origins of Buddhistic "Tantrism"; and above all, his *Rgya-gar chos-'byuṅ* is the only systematic history of Indian Buddhism of which the buddhologists have been able to dispose : already exploited by Wassilieff, even before he had published the Russian translation,[31] that work, since the issuing in 1869 of the German translation of Schiefner, has been used abundantly by all research workers.[32] Why *a priori*, doubt Tāranātha? Did he not have at his disposal texts inaccessible today, while admitting

28. Erich FRAUWALLNER, *On the date of the buddhist master of the law Vasubandhu*, Rome, Serie Orientale, 1951, p. 64.
29. He was writing in 1608.
30. From the Mahāguru Abhayadattaśrī of Campārṇa".
31. The Russian translation of the *Chos-'byun* of TĀRANĀTHA dates from 1866.
32. Since the first edition of this book an English version of the *Rgya-gar chos-'byun* : *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India* has been published by Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, Simla, 1970, in-8, XVI-472-XXIII p., which contains an exhaustive note about the master-teachers quoted by Tāranātha with lists of their writings as they appear from the *Bstan-'gyur*.

that they may continue to exist in some Tibetan library ?[33] Absence of another informant who would be able to contradict, his natural authority, all urge one to consider that Tibetan historian as a reliable authority. It is indeed tempting to accept his affirmations as irrefutable arguments. He inspires confidence : he is endowed with a critical faculty quite developed; he makes use of his sources, comparing them as do modern historians, and sometimes he is even less indulgent than they towards his colleagues ! In order to understand better the man and his method, it would be necessary to study the style and pace of some of his arguments, independently of their content : "Certain say that Śākya-blo was the student of Devendrabuddhi, and that he composed a commentary, which it is impossible to admit. There are differing rumours which do not concur with the chronology; for example, certain pretend that Yamāri has been a personal student of Dharmakīrti; others that the author of the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra* was his personal pupil; others again affirm that he received initiation near a corpse, et . Indeed more, it is said that Dharmakīrti had beaten the victory drum seventeen times, although it would hardly be in confirmity with the vows of adepts of the Buddha to beat the drum of victory; or that a *nirgrantha* would have presented himself armed with a lance and after having demanded that the vanquished be killed with that lance, would have begun the controversy; but that he would have been conquered by Devendrabuddhi had not Dharmakīrti engaged himself in the controversy; the simple supposition that the *nirgrantha* had wished to conquer his adversary with the aid of a method which was contradictory to his own system, is absurd, and it is a tale ignored completely by savants, rejected by writers of historical works, and the inventor of which had not all his wits".[34] Furthermore, the reasoning is resumed with great concision, but the conclusion is not less

33. For example, the *Buddhapurāṇa* and "Harmony of History" (?) (*T.N.*, 42) of Indradatta (*Dbaṅ-po byin*) (*T.N.* 281), and for the history of Buddhism in "the South" (*Dakṣiṇāpatha*) (?) and in the "*Koki*", the "Garland of Flowers" (*Me-tog 'bhreṅ-pa*) of the Brahmin Manomati (*T.N.*, 265). Tāranātha refers also to Bhaṭaghaṭī, to Kṣemendrabhadra (*T.N.*, 42) and, very certainly, to his *guru paṇḍita*.

34. *T.N.*, pp. 187-188.

energetic : "Those who admit that Bhavya, Avalokitavrata, Buddhajñānapāda, Jñānagarbha, Śāntirakṣita, are attainers of Mādhyamika and of the Svatantrika, without taking account of the commentary of the *Mādhyamakālaṅkāra* of Śāntirakṣita composed by Siṃhabhadra, and called the *Aṣṭasahasrikavṛtti*, and who without recalling that Buddhajñāna is a student of Siṃhabhadra, make of Jñānagarbha a pupil of Buddhajñāna, prove by that only their foolishness."[35]

These extracts, proving that Tāranātha is working like ourselves, on varied sources, more or less trust-worthy and fragmentary, that like a good historian he is striving to reach a synthesis, despite gaps or, on the contrary, despite the superabundance of his information, all incite us to prudence; for Tāranātha is closer to his sources than we are, but he is already working on suspect document, legend is mixed with history, where facts have sometimes been deformed for requirements of quarrels between schools of thought or of competition between monasteries. The task of the historian, references and discussions, that we perhaps exhibit too complacently, he more often disguises : he wishes to offer a continuous history of the development of Buddhism, without presenting, as would do a modern historian, his justifications, or forcing himself to consider the probability of his affirmation. His critical judgment was falling into default, because he considered—this is at least quite probable—certain authorities as infallible, exactly in the same way as certain modern authors have placed absolute confidence in Tāranātha. He has then happened to commit errors and some mistakes with serious consequences precisely because they compromise the exactitude of the continuous chronological development they endeavour to present.[36]

35. *T.N.*, pp. 204-205.
36. For example, one knows that Sarvajña (-mitra or -deva) and Dānaśīla (the ancient, since another monk of the same name lived around 1200) are contemporaries of Ral-pa-can, the Khri-ral of Tāranātha, who reigned in the 9th century, very probably during the first half, from about 820 to 840; Tāranātha cites them correctly under the rule of the Pāla king contemporary, according to him, of Khri-ral, Mahīpāla (p. 226). Unhappily, at the time of Ral-pa-can was reigning Dharmapāla, who seized (*Contd.*)

Let us add that Tāranātha was knowing himself to be badly informed in the sphere occupying us : he is sewing the whole of Indian Buddhism in distorting perspective; of this he is aware and about this he takes care to warn his readers. He limits himself to describing the history of the Law in the Aparāntaka : "On the appearance of the Law in Kaśmīr, in Oḍḍiyāna, in the Tukhāra country, in Koki and the various little islands (*dvīpa*), I have not been able to write, because I was not able to have detailed sources at my disposal, nor even oral information".[37]

It is prudent then to build nothing on datum so long as it is not confirmed by an independent authority, and irrespective of what may be the antiquity and prestige of its author. As to pointers presenting only a satisfying character of plausibility, it is fitting to propose them as hypotheses, sifting from them all necessary restrictions and forcing oneself to appreciate in each case their probability.

It is important not to neglect sources of a completely different order, not philological : archaeological and artistic authorities; by no means to study them here from the angle of iconographical convention, (that is definitely not our purpose) but stylistic examination of a work can yield information about influences to which it was submitted, that is to say, about contacts between cultural zones : the presence in western Tibet

Kanauj shortly after 800 (copper plates of Bhagalpur and Khālimpur, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, 252; V. Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1902. p. 258), when Mahīpāla reigned two centuries latter : it is he who, after having chased the Kamboja from Bengal, suffered around the assault of the Cola Rājendra. Doubtless this is which explains why Tāranātha, having knowledge of mentions of Sarvajña and of Dānaśīla well before the reign of that king, names them in two other places : Sarvajña in the reign of king Pañcamasiṃha (p. 159), before the Pāla, Dānaśīla in the reign of. Gopāla, the first Pāla (about 750 ?) (p. 204).

It seems that Tāranātha has sometimes multiplied the number of the kings, perhaps due to faulty comprehension of the dynastic lists that he has had to hand (*biruḍa* ? subdivision of the Pāla territories ?), that due to this he has stretched his chronology and considered as successive what was in reality simultaneous.

37. *T.N.*, p. 282.

of writings presenting Kaśmīri characteristics confirms the influence of Kaśmīr on that western Tibet; stylistic relationship between certain Kaśmīri work and Pāla art will suffice to prove that Kaśmīri Buddhism was being submitted to the allurement of Bengal and of Magadha. On the other hand, the artistic production bears evidence of prosperity : literary work renders account of the milieu in which it took birth. An opulent work could not emanate from a milieu economically poor nor, believe we, which may be even less evident, could a beautiful work emanate from a sphere spiritually necessitous.

CHRONOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

One could have been tempted to make the history of medieval Buddhism begin at the point where commences the work of translation of the Sanskrit canon in Tibetan, since at that time a new field of activities opens for Indian monks and especially for Kaśmīris. For several reasons it is, however, more valuable to choose an opening date more ancient.

It is during the 7th century that the history of Kaśmīr, as presented by Kalhaṇa, becomes worthy of repute. As Louis de La Vallée Poussin used to remark : "We have almost all that is required to write the history of Kaśmīr from Durlabhavardhana, founder of the Kārkoṭa dynasty at the beginning of the 7th century".[38] It is precisely in the reign of that sovereign, in 631-633, that Hiouan-ts'ang visited Kaśmīr : information confided to us by that meticulous observer is, for our purpose, of considerable importance. Relations between Kaśmīr and Tibet go back perhaps to the same epoch, if it is necessary to believe in the tradition which shows us Thon-mi Sambhoṭa in quest of an alphabet, learning Sanskrit and letters at the school of a Kaśmīri master. The "father of Tibetan handwriting" was sent into India by Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po. But according to Tāranātha, that sovereign, the first in historical Tibet, would be a contemporary of Dharmakīrti, a teacher who, with the help of ancient categories, one feels puzzled whether to classify among the Vijñānavādin or the Sautrāntika. This is because his writings, so often studied and commented upon throughout

38. *Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde depuis Kanishka jusqu'aux invasion musulmanes*, Paris, 1935, in 8°, xx—396 p., p. 165.

the Middle Ages, inaugurate a new doctrinal tendency, introduced into Kaśmīr (always according to Tāranātha) during the very lifetime of their author.

Because to the temporal epopeo that represents for mediaeval Buddhism the evangelisation of Tibet one has to add another adventure of a spiritual order : in this way one forms an estimate of the life of Buddhism during the centuries which preceded the invasion of India by Islam. Indeed, if it is permissible to hesitate on an initial date, the terminating date of the life of Indian Buddhism is only too certain : it is the Mussulman conquest. Beyond that, there are only survivals, about which information is rare—an incentive to gather it so much more carefully.

All that period, when one almost feels history hesitate as though indecisive of the orientation to take, is especially stirring, punctuated by progress of Mussulman penetration into India.

During the first half of the 7th century, in North India, one could for a moment think the occupation by the Hephtalite Huns had been only a tragic parenthesis, could believe the grandeur of Gupta days restored to life. This is the precise moment when Islam is born and when begins its sudden and terrible expansion : from the commencement of the 8th century, in 712-713, the Arab horsemen of Muhammad ibn al-Qasīm flung themselves on Sind and reached Mūltān. But that first phase, which passed almost unperceived in India, had as yet only happy consequences. Indian culture there was still gaining remarkable students, capable of spreading as far as Cordova (whence they will be sent on to Toledo, to Paris, and to Oxford) some elements of Indian science, mingled with Greek science in the melting-pot of Baghdād. However, India, where a new political order was installing itself, based on the preponderance of Kanauj in Hindustan,[39] and, in the Deccan,

39. That preponderance was, we know, contested by the kings of Kaśmīr (*R.T.*, IV, 133-145, and IV, 471). Those episodes are too well known, for it to be necessary to recall the details. There is one detail, however, which Kalhaṇa neglects, and it is not unimprotant—far from it. The kings of Kaśmīr were content to have their military expeditions bring home thrones (*R.N.*, IV, 471 : cf. (*Contd.*)

on the balance between two powers, the one Mahrati and Canarese, the other Tamil, India was enjoying long period of relative peace; and no-one would dare to pretend that it had not been, above all, in philosophy and art, astonishingly fruitful. But, precisely in philosophy and art, Buddhism is retiring to the background. Only certain Indian dynasties of that time, such as the Pāla dynasty, in Magadha and in Bengal, were protecting the *Saṅgha*, whereas elsewhere the monks and lay faithful, incontestably less and less numerous, were not, so it seems, uneasy. Except, perhaps, in the Tamil country of Śivaite predominance, the religious intolerance was exceptional.

But it is the year 1000 which without marking the end of a world, is for Indian space an important date. From 1001 to 1023 succeed each other the rezzou of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, that enlightened pirate, protector of Firdausi and of the subtle connoisseur of Indianism—and of Kaśmīr—that was al-Bīrūnī. Those incursions had other consequences than the foundation of the Sultanate of Lahore : they disturbed the whole of north India. From this collapsed the Pratihāra dynasty and the prestige of Kanauj. The Gāhaḍavāla ruled over a more eastern domain which used to extend as for as Varanasi, to the detriment of the Pāla. At the same epoch the hegemony of the Cola extended over Ceylon and Śrīvijaya, countries essentially Buddhist, which assuredly were suffering from that foreign and Śivaite domination, without renouncing for it their religion or ceasing to maintain relations with the universities of the Magadha.

Finally, third and decisive stage, the invasion of the Ghourides submerges the whole of Hindustan and reduces independent India to the Deccan, divided into four States, of which the territorial extent almost coincides with that of the linguistic domains, Mahrati, Canarese, Telegu and Tamil. The Pāla dynasty, which had rendered such great service to the *Dharma*,

III, 331), they made come to Śrīnagar certain personalities, whose protection was sought as a title of glory, and it is thus that the ancestor of Abhinavagupta, Atrigupta, installed himself on the banks of the Vitastā (PANDEY, *Abhinavagupta*, *Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series*, Vol. I, Banaras, 1935, pp. 3-4). For once, political ambitions have had fortunate consequences for the history of thought.

has been swept away in the turmoil. The universities, where so many celebrated Kaśmīris had been working, are deserted. The holy places are under Turkish domination. But in Kaśmīr, Buddhism is not dead.

The last phase of the Mussulman conquest, from 1286 to 1327, was the work of 'Alā ud-Dīn and of his general, Malik Kāfūr, who reached Rāmeśvaram. Kaśmīr, in its turn, would only be falling under the thumb of a Mussulman ruler some years later, in 1339, at the moment when a new independent Indian dynasty was arising at Vijayanagar (1336). To those military milestones of medieval Indian history—first half of the 7th century; year 1000; 1200; first half of the 14th century—it is fitting—in what concerns Buddhism—to add the grand dates of Tibetan history, since the evangelisation of Tibet was the lofty task of Indian Buddhists in that epoch.

The history of Kaśmīri Buddhism is therefore inserted in three chronologies which it is proper to compare : the Tibetan chronology, that of Kaśmīr and that of the Pāla dynasty, protector of the universities where the most eminent monks, whatever their province of origin, were being formed and where they were teaching.

The Kaśmīri chronology is admirably known, thanks to Kalhaṇa, and it is sufficient to recall this to mind (Panel I). Chinese sources only invite, for the Kārkoṭa dynasty, a correction of nearly a quarter of century : religious history is unfortunately very far removed from such precision. In other respects dynastic changes in Kaśmīr have only slight repercussion on the life of the people and especially on that of religious communities. It is only from the second half of the 11th century that civil wars—through the state of permanent suspense and excessive poverty they entrain—harm the cultural life.

The Pāla chronology is very much more delicate to handle : but it is that to which Tāranātha essentially devotes himself. The first researchers relied on the Tibetan historian, despite the evidently much too long duration accorded to the dynasty in its ensemble. Satis Candra Vidhyābhūṣaṇa strove to read just the chronology of Tāranātha, taking into account the steady signposts to which that chronology is attached, *e.g.* the date of the mission of Atīśa, 1042, in the reign of Nayapāla

(*Indian Logic*, p. 148). But the copper plaques furnish a different order of succession, repeated in identical manner in several charts : certain names given by Tāranātha are ignored, but, by way of compensation, others are mentioned. Thus, Dharmapāla is prior to Devapāla according to charts, when he is his second successor according to Tāranātha;[40] Caṇaka, who, according to Tāranātha, would have played such a big role at perhaps the most glorious moment of the life of Vikramaśīla, is unknown to some Indian source authorities; Rāmapāla, grand monarch of the end of the 11th century, who still was succeeded by five kings of the dynasty,[41] was, according to Tāranātha, the penultimate Pāla. In such conditions, it is permissible to wonder if prudence does not require that one purely and simply renounce using the chronology of Tāranātha. That would be to deprive oneself of a great amount of information, which perserves in many cases an indicative value, the relative chronology remaining more plausible than the absolute chronology.[42] We think that Majumdar had reason to write :

40. The indications furnished by the copper plates were first exploited by Rajendra Lal Mitra. Subsequently, a controversy took place between R.D. Banerji and J.Ch. Ghosh, them R.C. Majumdar. See in particular : R.L. MITRA, *Indo-Aryans*, London-Calcutta, 1881, Vol. II, pp. 217-275; R.D. BANERJI, the Pālas of Bengal, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Bengal*, V, 1915, and Pāla Chronology, *Journal of the Bengal Research Society*, XV, 643; J.Ch. GHOSH, *J.H.A.*, VII, 1931; R.C. MAJUMDAR, Pāla Chronology, *J.R.A.S.B.*, 1921 and *History of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1943.

41. As the Pāla ruled Bihār until the end of the 12th century, after the Sena had taken to themselves Bengal.

42. In order to try to correct the distortion inflicted on the chronology by Tāranātha, it would be important to know the origin of his errors. One can guess certain of them. The first is having considered as successive certain contemporary sovereigns. Different Pāla have perhaps reigned simultaneously, in the hypothesis suggested by Majumdar of a breaking-up of the empire Pāla at the end of the 9th century. Tāranātha can also have attached wrongly to the glorious Magadhian dynasty some sovereigns from other dynasties of which the name carries as sccond element the word

(*Contd.*)

> Tāranātha's list of successive Pāla kings is obviously wrong...In spite, however, of these obvious discrepancies, we must hold that Tāranātha had access to some historical texts, now lost to us, and did not draw purely upon his imagination...He gathered his information from certain old texts, and either these were wrong in many details, or he misunderstood them...[43].

The panel II sums up the chronology of Tāranātha, as interpreted by S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, and is the most likely chronology according to Indian sources, at the present state of our knowledge. The chronology formerly proposed by Rājendra Lāl Mitra, has been added to it, under the indicative heading, because S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, who knew it, has been able to take it into account.

Tibetan chronology, at least until the end of the 10th century, likewise carries some uncertainties; but they are, on whole less serious, since they never exceed 60 years. In fact, the most ancient Tibetan inscriptions, the documents of Touen-houang, and also the documents originating from central Asia, published by F. W. Thomas, use as the only method of datation the cycle of the twelve animals. Starting from 1027, the new chronology regularly associates itself with the twelve animals, five elements constituting the cycle of 60 years. From then onward one dares to complete the previous dates, and sometimes, incorrectly; this it is which explains how the Tibetan historians may have been able "to lose" a complete sexagesimal cycle.

The development of Buddhism in Tibet admits of two phases, what Tibetans call the first propagation under the

pāla. (That was the case of certain Pratihāra : Mahendrapāla. Mahīpāla, Devapāla, Vijayapāla, Rājypāla), Another element may have deceived Tāranātha : it is the custom Indian rulers have of attributing to themselves certain surnames (*biruda*); Tāranātha may have, in certain cases, considered as the names of successive sovereigns the different names of one same king. Further on it will be seen (Chap. II) that the origin of certain of Tāranātha's mistakes was probably the confusion between two Nāgārjuna six centuries apart.

43. *History of Bengal*, p. 185.

kings from Lha-sa, Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po and his successors (panel III) and the later propagation of the Law, favoured by the kings of Guge. They are separated due to a tragic interval, the persecution ordered by Glaṅ Dar-ma.

The initial dates of those two periods are known with sufficient approximation : Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po, whatever may be dates of his birth and of his coronation, died in 649; we know it through the *T'ang Annals*, and the second predication of the doctrine begins around 980. But the date of commencement of the persecution is controversial.

Glaṅ Dar-ma ordered the massacre of the monks during a year which can be 840(841) or 900(901). To say the truth, none of those dates permits of a satisfying reconstitution of Tibetan religion history and, despite our slight preference for the date of 900, which leaves a longer space for the enormous task of translation done at time of first propagation, and, reduces to 80 years the interruption of the predication, we admit we have no serious argument to present in favour of that date. Therefore we have abstained from taking part in the controversy. However, as we have drawn on some Tibetan sources for our documentation, the persecution forms the pivot of our study. It determines the two great panels of the diptych :

—Buddhism in Kaśmīr and activity of Kaśmīri Buddhists in Tibet at the beginning of the 7th century until the persecution by Glaṅ Dar-ma (chap. II-III);
—the contribution of Kaśmīr to the second propagation of the doctrine and in particular her role in diffusion of logic and of the Vajrayāna (chap. V to VII).

Remains a period of nearly a century (900-980) or perhaps of a century and a half (840-980), about which we are very badly informed : this was the occasion to make the point and to study some generalities which with difficulty have to be left confined in the narrow framework of the chronology (chap. III).

"*KAŚMĪR*" *AND* "*GREATER KAŚMĪR*"

The cultural interest of Kaśmīr, properly so called, is not

commensurate with her geographical extension. One would be seriously mistaken about the territorial importance of that Indian state if, in order to situate it, one were relying on maps where the name Kaśmīr covers a vast region of northwest India, measuring some 700 kms. from east to west and some 500 kms. from north to south. Indeed, if one examines a map showing spread of population, one is made aware that this zone is in great part desert. Kaśmīr, properly speaking, which occupies in bulk the centre of that "Greater Kaśmīr", is none other than the high basin of the Vitastā (Jhelum); and the valley, approximately oval in shape and oriented from south-east to north-east, is no more than 140 kms. long by 30 to 40 kms. wide. Hiouan-ts'ang, Ou-k'ong and al-Bīrūnī agree on this point with Kalhaṇa and the more recent chroniclers : the work Kaśmīra, like its Chinese transcriptions (Kou-che-mi or Kia-che-mi-lo) and Arabic (Kaśmīr or Qaśmīr) designates exclusively the upper basin of the Vitastā and of its tributories above the cluse of Varāhamūla (*Barāmūla*). One would like to be certain that the Tibetan word Kha-che has indeed the same strict significance, but it could have been applied sometimes to the ensemble of the Indian provinces situated to west of Tibet and to south of Baltistan : this is why one would not know, when speaking of Kaśmīr, how to abstain from specifying in all possible measure the proper geographical limits of one's subject.

In bygone days this "little Kaśmīr" was more populated than it is in our time, thanks to a careful system of irrigation, perfected slowly by generations of peasants—but today partially neglected and abandoned. Situated at the extreme head of the Indian domain in one of the "knots" of Asia, close to the borders of Iran, of central Asia, of Tibet, it did not find itself on the great routes of communication between India and the West, nor between China and India; and this is what permits it, during the Middle Ages, despite historical crises, to preserve its originality benefitting fully on the cultural place as well as economically from various exchanges orientated essentially, but not exclusively, towards India, It is open to the outside world through certain difficult corridors, the "gates" (*dvāra* or *draṅga*) of which speak Kalhaṇa, al-Bīrūnī and the Chinese pilgrims. It communicates with the States of Upper

Puñjāb and India through Barāmūla and the valley, and also through various passes, the most often travelled being that of Bānahāl. The Zōjī-lā Pass is not only the gateway to Ladakh, a Tibetanised province in the 7th century, it is the departure point of the difficult route across the Karakoram towards Khotan, the most Indian of the oases of central Asia. Through Uraśā and through Śardi, Kaśmīr is in communication with Gilgit, the Irano-Indian borders, and also the tracks most frequented between India and China, through Swāt and Chitral (see map).

Thus, Kaśmīr, in the strict sense of the word, is in contact with other districts, mountainous, more or less pledged to anarchy, but over which Śrīnagar has sometimes imposed her political authority. The nearest districts have mostly been linked to Kaśmīr, on which they depend economically in a very close manner, and one sees them intervene in Kaśmīr political affairs, above all during restless periods. The little principality of Lohara, a position strategically important, furnished the Kaśmīris with two reigning dynasties. According to Hiouan-ts'ang, not only Uraśā, Parṇotsa, Rājapurī, and Siṃhapura in the Salt Range, were having no overlord at the time of his journey, but Taxila even used to depend directly on administration from Śrīnagar. More than four centuries later in 1087-1088, eight kings came to present their homage to Kalaśa in his capital : the sovereigns of Lohara, Uraśā, Rājapurī, and also those of Vallāpura of Kāṣṭhavāṭa, of two unidentified territories Buddhāpura and Kānda, and even Āsaṭa,[44] the king of Campā. In the reign of Sussala, the kings of Campā, of Buddhāpura, of Vartula, as well as the princes of Trigarta and Vallāpura, brought their support to Bhikṣācara and, being themselves reunited, undertook together a journey

44. These *śloka*, by reason of their importance, merit to be quoted (text approved by M.A. STEIN, *A.S.R.T.*, Vol. I, p. 315) :

Kīrtir Baddhāpurādhīśaś Cāmpeyo bhūbhṛd Āsaṭaḥ
Tukkātmajas tu Kālaśo Vallāpuranareśvaraḥ
rājā Saṃgrāmapālākhyaḥ sa ca Rājapurīpatiḥ
Utkarṣo Loharorvībhṛd Auraśo Muṅgajo (Saṅgoṭa) nṛpaḥ
Gāmbhīrasīhaḥ Kāndeśaḥ Kāṣṭhavāṭa dharādhipaḥ
śrimān Uttamarājo'pi rājānam upatasthire.

(*R.T.*, VII, 588-590).

to Kurukṣetra.[45] These few pointers will suffice to show the strict ties which used to exist between Kaśmīr and the "hill states" of the Puñjāb. The region of the advance foothills of the Puñjāb is of such complexity that it is doubtless not amiss to recall its configuration, while stressing with more precision the relations which the states of those *pārvatīyā nṛpāḥ* were maintaining with Kaśmīr.

The districts situated immediately to the south of Kaśmīr, on the more direct routes towards the Puñjāb, were depending so strictly on Śrīnagar that it is useless to recapitulate the numerous mentions of them made by Kalhaṇa. They are Parṇotsa, at the foot of the Pañcāladhārā Pass; Rājapurī, situated beyond the principality of Lohara, in the region which antique sources call the country of the Dārvābhisāra; Dvāravatī which, downstream from Rājapuri, rejoins the valley of the Vitastā and, more to the east, at the foot of Bānahāl Pass, the Viṣalāṭā where Bhikṣācara found refuge. Taxila, between the rivers Indus and Vitastā, is hardly more distant from Rājapurī than Varāhamūla from Mārtāṇḍa. To east and south-east, Kaśmīr is in communication with the upper valley of the Candrabhāgā (Cināb), of the Irāvatī (Ravi) and of the Śatadrū (Sutlej). At the foot of the frontier ridge which separates the basin of the Vitastā (Jhelum) from that of the Candrabhāgā (Cinab), Kāṣṭhavāṭa used to constitute an independent principality, mentioned one single time in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*,[46] but many times in more recent chronicles. Downstream, Bhadrāvakāśa[47] was often attached to Campāpura, while, more to south and west of Campā, Vallāpura was an independent State where Bhikṣācara[48] were taking refuge, and a princess of

45. *uparāge nave sajje pārvatīyās trayo nṛpāḥ*
Cāmpeyo Jāsaṭo Vajradharo Babbāpurādhipaḥ
rājā Sahajapālaś ca Vartulānām adhīsvaraḥ
yuvarājau Trigartorvī Vallāpuranarendrayoḥ
Balha Ānandarājaśca pañca saṃghaṭitah kvacit
prasthānārtham kṛtapaṇāḥ Kurukṣetram upāgatāḥ.
(*R.T.*, VIII, 538-540).

46. *R.T.*, VIII, 590.
47. *R.T.*, VIII, 501.
48. *R.T.*, VIII, 542.

which was forming part of the harem of Sussala,[49] mentioned numerous times by Kalhaṇa.[50]

Beyond those high valleys, peopled by indigent mountaineers, three states incomparably more important have their own history: Campā, Trigarta and Kulūta—in our day Chamba, Kangra and Kuḷu. Around the region of the sources of the river Ravi, between Kangra and Kāṣṭhavāta (to which J.-Ph. Vogel has devoted an excellent memoire),[51] the city of Campā was maintaining tight links with Kaśmīr. Matrimonial alliances between the reigning family of Campā and the Kaśmīri dynasties were frequent. King Jāsata of Campā, akin to Harṣa received Bhikṣācara,[52] while a Rajput of the same State was forming part of the guard of Uccala and was to be slain in his service;[53] and a prince from Campā, allied to Sussala, participated at his side in the defence of Śrīnagar.[54] A wife of Sussala, herself originally from Campā, burned herself with one of her sisters after the tragic death of the king.[55] Moreover, it indeed seems that under Ananta, in the middle of the 11th century, Kaśmīr was exercising effectively her suzerainty over Campā and Trigarta. This is what Bilhaṇa[56] affirms while Kalhaṇa for his part tells us that Ananta, having dethroned Sālavāhana, who was then reigning at Campāpura, placed a new king on the throne.[57]

Trigarta, between the rivers Ravi and Sutlej, is a place often mentioned in the Kaśmīri chronicles.[58] It is from there that originated the Brahmin Keśava, minister of Ananta, and at certain epochs it was undoubtedly part of Kaśmīr, since Pravarasena I made it an *agrahāra* of Pravareśa, while at other times it was doubtless supported by Jālandhara.[59]

49. *R.T.*, VIII, 1444.
50. See *R.T.*, VII, 220, 270, 588; VIII, 539, 622, 1083.
51. *Antiquities of Chamba States*, *A.S.I.*, Vol. 36, 1911.
52. *R.T.*, VIII, 542.
53. *R.T.*, VIII, 323.
54. *R.T.*, VIII, 1083-1086.
55. *R.T.*, VIII, 1443.
56. *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, XVIII, 38.
57. *R.T.*, VII, 218.
58. *R.T.*, III, 285; V, 144; VIII, 1531.
59. CUNNINGHAM, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 139 and *A.S.R.T.*, IV, 177, n.

The little State of Jālandhara, between the Beas and the Sutlej, is famous in the history of Buddhism as, according to tradition, Kaniṣka chose it in order to convoke there a council. Jālandhara is not then, as often stated, in Kaśmīr—but very much farther south. However, during certain epochs, that State, actually adjacent to the plain, used to belong to the king of Śrīnagar, since Lalitāditya made a present of it to one of his courtisans.[60] At other times, it served as a refuge and meeting place for Kaśmīri refugees who were intriguing during the civil war,[61] and one of Ananta's wives, Sūryamatī was daughter of the Prince of Jālandhara.[62]

Kulūta, which is composed of the upper basin of the Sutlej, is mentioned once only in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī.* It was there that Raṇārambhā stayed before becoming the spouse of Raṇāditya.[63] It borders on a region which, in the 10th century, was peopled by Tibetans from a date impossible to determine, and which, during the 11th century was maintaining numerous contacts with the convents of Kaśmīr : the basin of the river Spiti. Now, in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* there is no mention of Spiti nor of other provinces of western Tibet, the country of Guge, upper basin of the Sutlej, and the Pu-raṅs, farther east, in the direction of lake Manasarovar and of Mount Kailāsa : proof once more of the poverty of argument a *silentio.*

To the northeast, Ladakh, another Tibetanised province, sometimes called Mar-yul by the Tibetans, is designated by Śrīvara by the name of "Great Tibet" (Bṛhadbhuṭṭadeśa),[64] and it is under that appellation it is still known in our time in Kaśmīr.

The expression Bhuṭṭarāṣṭra, used by Kalhaṇa,[65] perhaps also applied to Ladakh, but we do not think the *guru* of the father of Amṛtaprabhā was a native of Ladakh. The title of *Lo-ston-pa* distinguishing him can mean simply "master-translator", and if *lo* designates a country, as pretends

60. *R.T.*, IV, 177.
61. *R.T.*, VIII, 1651; VIII, 1670.
62. *R.T.*, VII, 150.
63. *R.T.*, III, 435.
64. Third *R.T.*, III, 445.
65. *R.T.*, VIII, 2887.

Kalhaṇa, that country would more likely be Bhutan.[66] Queen Amṛtaprabha (Kalhaṇa tells us) was a native of Prāgjyotiṣa, which one places in Assam.[67] Nothing astonishing that a prince from Assam should have for tutor a religious from Bhutan, and thus is effaced an apparent irregularity noted by A. Stein.[68]

The relations of Kaśmīr with neighbouring areas north and west were very much less rigorous than those maintained with the States on the Indian watershed. Uraśā, situated between the upper courses of the Vitastā and Indus, and the basin of the Kṛṣṇagaṅgā peopled by brothers of race of Kaśmīris, had remained at a rougher cultural level : tempted by the riches of Kaśmīr, they were still immediate dependencies but, communicating too easily with the Vitastā valley, were sometimes dependent on the direct authority of Śrīnagar—at other times Uraśa used to serve as refuge and base for malcontents and rebels from all sources. The basin of the Kṛṣṇagaṅgā receives in Kalhaṇa the name of Daraddeśa, which one is tempted to translate by Dardistan. But the name Dards is given to people living to the north of Kaśmīr right up to the Iranian borders, who speak Aryan dialects intermediary between Indo-aryan languages and Persian languages : in that sense, the present day Kaśmīris are Dards, and Dardistan comprises the region of Gilgit, so important for the history of Buddhism, the Bru-za of the Tibetans. If in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* the word *dārada* is applied exclusively to the riverside territories of the Kṛṣṇagaṅgā, the region of Gilgit is only mentioned by Kalhaṇa under a mythical aspect, concerning the *digvijaya* of Lalitāditya, and one can only deplore it. The relationship between Dardistan and Kaśmīr, as revealed by the linguistic aspect, receives however confirmation, on the plane of religious ethnography, from a Bon-po Tibetan source which affirms that the Tibetans, called for celebration of a rite, three Bon-po, one from Kaśmīr, another from Gilgit, the third from Zaṅ-Zuṅ.

The two routes most frequent between central Asia and India used to pass not through Kaśmīr but through Gilgit :

66. Analytical Index of the *P.S.J.Z.*, *sub verbo*.
67. LAW, *Historical Geography*.
68. *A.S.R.T.*, III. 10, n.

one used to follow the valley of the Chitral toward Kapiśa—the other that of Swāt toward Gandhāra. The last mentioned used to cross the region described by Fa-hien, Song-yun and Hiouan-ts'ang under the name of Ou-tchang-na (or by abbreviation Ou-tch'ang, Ou-tchang). That name, wellknown since the memoir of A. Rémusat on the Buddhist kingdoms,[69] is that of a border region of northwest India, mentioned among the States that fear of the Arabs was inducing to revolt against China at the beginning of the 8th century : in 747 P'o p'o tchoen, king of Ki-pin, is authorised by the Emperor to take the title of "king of Ki-pin and of Ou-tchang", which proves that at that time Ou-tchang was dependent on the authority of the king of Kapiśa Moreover, we know that the kingdom of Ou-tchang boasted of an imprint of the foot of the Buddha and of a stone on which the Buddha had dried his robe. Now, A. Stein has found in the highlands of Swāt, near Tirat, a stone bearig in *kharoṣṭhī* an inscription : *Bodhasa śakamuṇisa padani.* More to the south, a stone offering curious characteristics could be that to which the Chinese travellers allude.[70] Recent Italian excavations, directed by Giuseppe Tucci, have shown that this region of the valley of Swāt, very far from constituting a mountainous canton, poor and uninteresting, was an important Buddhist centre at the end of Antiquity and at the beginning of the Middle age.[71]

The Ou-tchang-na of the Chinese pilgrims is therefore indisputably the region centred on the high and middle valley of the river Swāt. Matters become complicated when issues the question of finding out the Indian name of the region. Hiouan-ts'ang, as always the richest source of instruction, explains to us that the name Ou-tchang-na in Sanskrit signifies "park, garden"; thus he considers that the Chinese word is the transcription of the Sanskrit word *udyāna*; modern Indianists in turn have used the word Udyāna to designate the Ou-tchang-na of the Chinese.

69. *Foe koue ki,* or *Relation des royaumes bouddhiques,* Paris, 1836.
70. *Archaeological Tour in Upper Swāt and adjunct hill tracts, Memoirs A.S.I.,* No. 42, Calcutta, 1930; St. KONOW, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* II, 1, pp. 8-9.
71. Giuseppe TUCCI, *La Via dello Svat,* in-16, 97 p., Bari, 1963. See above all the numerous publications of D. FACENNA.

Now a province very important for the history of Buddhism bears a name which recalls very closely that of Udyāna. That is the province which in Tibetan is called U-rgyan (or O-rgyan). The Tibetan form which carries an *r* does not permit one to suppose that U-rgyan may be the transcription of the Sanskrit Udyāna. The corresponding Indian word ought to bear a retroflex and indeed Tibetans, when they present the Indian form of U-rgyan, take good care to write it Uḍiyāna, Uḍḍiyāna, Oḍiyāna, Oḍḍiyāna, Oḍyāna and even Oḍyāṇa. That name is attested in Sanskrit by several references which have been recapitulated by S. Lévi. Already an inscription at Mathurā (*samvat.* 77) was recording a donation made by the monk Jīvaka Oḍiyanaka. In the *Hevajratantra*, Oḍḍiyāna is mentioned among the holy places qualified as *pīṭha*.[72] A Foucher has picked out, in a Nepalese manuscript of the 9th century, the mention of a Vajrapāṇi of Maṇgakoṣṭha in Oḍḍiyāna.[73] A *sādhana* teaches the evocation of Mārīcī of Uḍḍiyāna. Finally attention is called to some coverings (*kambala*) of Uḍḍiyāna (with d dental not retroflex). That mysterious Uḍḍiyāna had been diversely located. For B. Bhattacharyya, it referred to a region of eastern India which he places sometimes in Assam, sometimes in Orissa, identifying Uḍḍi, Oḍḍi, with the vernacular forms Oḍi, Odra. For other authors, Uḍḍiyāna is a region of northwest India, the same which the Chinese call Ou-tchang-na, and argument justifying that identification have been particularly well presented by S. Lévi in the *Catalogue des Yakṣa de la Mahāmāyūrī*, afterwards by Bagchi in *Indo-Sinica*.

Mention of Uḍḍiyāna, to which neither Sylvain Lévi nor Bagchi refer, leads us again to Kaśmīr. The *karma* doctrine, that is to say the doctrine of the *mahāsiddha*, would have been taught to Abhinavagupta, the great Kaśmīri thinker of the 10th century, by Bhūtirāja, a native of Uḍḍiyāna,

72. For that matter it should be mentioned that in that text, this word is rendered in Tibetan simply by U-ḍi (*Hevajratantra*, L, VII, 12).

Another list of *pīṭha* is furnished by the *Lokaprakāśa* attributed to Kṣemendra (A. WEBER, *Indische Studien*, Leipzig, 1898, XVIII, p. 349). An Oḍḍiyāna of the list of the *Hevajratantra* corresponds to Ujjayinī : confusion between Uḍḍiyāna and Oujjein does not tend to simplify the problem.

73. *Iconographie Bouddhique*, p. 121.

according to R. Gnoli.[74] That is the teacher to whom Abhinavagupta dedicated the *Kramakelī*, a lost text. It would seen normal that the land of Indrabhūtirāja, whence Bhūtirāja brought the method he taught to his illustrious pupil, should be a neighbouring province in frequent contact with Kaśmīr, rather than a distant region of Orissa or of Assam.

The problem has been confused still more by the previous i dentification of Udyāna and of Uḍḍiyāna which begs the puestion. Sometimes one is present at a discussion between those who affirm that Ou-tchang-na is Swāt and those who pretend that U-rgyan is not Swāt. M. Shahidullah writes thus : "Udyāna, in Tibetan transcription Uḍḍiyāna, Oḍiyāna, is in Tibetan Urgyan. It is assuredly identical with Swāt to the north-west of India. There is no reason to identify it with Orissa, in Tibetan Oḍiviśa, Oḍiśa, as Benoytosh Bhattacharyya who has followed M. Haraprasād Śāstri has done."[75] Indeed, there is no doubt about it : Ou-tchang-na (Udyāna) is Swāt. The misfortune is that the word Udyāna, to our knowledge, never designates in Sanskrit a geographical region, and besides the word Uḍḍiyāna is not a Tibetan transcription, but a Sanskrit form, which is attested, with some variants, over and over, again. Likewise, A. Grunwedel translates thus *dpal o-rgyan gyi gnas saṃ-kṛta'i skad-du o-ḍi-ya-na zes pa* : "the holy country Udyāna whose Sanskrit name is Oḍiyāna".[76] Arguments invoked in order to prove identity of Uḍḍiyāna and Swāt, apparently very strong, only show that Ou-tchang-na is Swāt.

We think that Uḍḍiyāna is indeed a province of north-west India, without doubt Swāt, but it is necessary to recognise that such opinion only rests upon a very fragile basis. Certainly, translators of the *Mahāmāyurī* into Chinese render Uḍḍiyāṇa by Ou-tchang-na, but it must be admitted that the Chinese authorities have committed an error, may be precisely in

74. ABHINAVAGUPTA, *Essenza dei Tantra*, Introduzione, traduzione e note di Raniero GNOLI Turin, 1960, pp. 13 and 66.
75. *Chants mystiques*, p. 22.
76. Dar Weg nach Śambhala, in *Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, *Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse* , XXIX, 3, p. 27.

translating Oḍḍiyāna by Ou-tchang-na, may be in pretending that the Sanskrit word transcribed into Chinese as Ou-tchang-na used to mean "park, garden". Gradually, one comes to think, as S. Lévi suggests, that Udyāna never existed and was created at the indication of Hiouan-ts'ang. In fact, it does not seem possible that the word Uḍḍiyāna be a vernacular form of Udyāna. Nevertheless, the variant Uḍḍiyāna could have served to support that thesis.

One can also allege that if the placing of Uḍḍiyāna in northwest India is a mistake, that mistake is ancient : it has been committed by the Tibetans themselves. For example, in the life of Padmasambhava, translated by F. Toussaint, U-rgyan is located to the west and Kaśmīr to the north. According to Gzon-nu dpal, Oḍḍiyāna was situated 230 *yojana* north of Magadha.[77] Finally, in Tibetan sources, Kaśmīr and Uḍḍiyāna are sometimes taken for one another : certain personages, especially Padmasambhava and Nāropā, are presented sometimes as natives of Uḍḍiyāna, sometimes as Kaśmīris.[78]

Whatever be the localisation, it remains beyond doubt that, for the whole of a vast region to which it is fitting to link at certain epochs the old university town of Taxila—and may be also the enigmatic Uḍḍiyāna—Kaśmir used to constitute a privileged centre, a kind of cultural metropolis. Therefore one could scarcely reproach Tibetan historians for attaching to Kha-che Buddhists originating from one or other of those provinces. Besides, it is more than probable that the most knowledgeable and zealous of religious belonging to the communities of those districts used to come several times in their life to stay in the most illustrious monasteries of the Vitastā valley, just as Kaśmīris, smitten by "tantric" mysteries, used to go for instruction (as did Ratnavajra and Prajñāguhya) close to *yogin* or *ḍākinī* of Uḍḍiyāna.

77. *B. A.*, 367.

78. Perhaps it is equally necessary to place in this file the adjective *auḍa* used by KALHANA (*R.T.*, IV, 9) : the minister Hanumat is described thus, and A. Stein translates : "son of Ūḍa (or Oḍa ?)" mentioning that the word is "of doubtful meaning". Would it not rather refer to the province of Hanumat? One could think of Oḍiviśa, of Uḍa-bhāṇḍa and perhaps even of Uḍi-yāṇa.

2

Under the Kārkoṭa

From the pilgrimage of Hiouan-ts'ang to the persecution of Glaṅ Dar-ma.

KAŚMĪRI BUDDHISM AT THE START OF THE 7TH CENTURY

When king Bālāditya, jewel who for 37 years had adorned the kingdom, attained the world of the God whose brow is adorned by the moon, a young man of the race of the *nāga* Kārkoṭa, who had the good fortune to marry at the same time a princess of royal blood and the Earth, was receiving the baptism with holy water that consecrated him as protector of the kingdom : this is what Kalhaṇa tells us, in terms more inflated and less concise, throughout six *śloka* at the end of book III and at the beginning of book IV of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[1] Said otherwise : towards 630 Durlabhavardhana, first king of the Kārkoṭa dynasty, succeeded to the throne thanks to an alliance with the Gonanda family.

What the chronicler does not tell us is that Buddhism was at that time in full prosperity in the kingdom of Kaśmīr. However, if Durlabhavardhana's name is mentioned in a certain

1. *R.T.* III, 526-530 and IV, 2.

number of literary works, it is indeed, thanks to an eminent Buddhist. That king's title to historical fame, is it not to have welcomed Hiouan-ts'ang ?

THE CHURCH OF KAŚMĪR ACCORDING TO HIOUAN-TS'ANG

Never has Kaśmīri Buddhism been so meticulously described as by the Chinese pilgrim who spent two full years touring the valley and being instructed there.[2]

Despite the persecutions of Mihirakula, memory of which was still painfully vivid, a hundred monasteries were sheltering, in whole of Kaśmīr about five thousand monks.[3] Hiouan-ts'ang, who stayed especially at the *vihāra* of Che-ye-in-to-lo (Jayendra), identified with the Jayendravihāra named by Kalhaṅa,[4] gives some details about certain of those monasteries. The most famous, which was attracting the veneration of crowds, possessed a precious relic : a tooth of the Buddha. It was inhabited by some three hundred religious.[5] Its site is clearly defined in the *Si-yu-ki* "at about ten *li* to the south-east of the new city to the north of the old capital and facing south of a big mountain": that can only refer to some southern slopes of the Gopādri. But no building has left in that spot any characteristic ruins, and M.A. Stein—so eager to gather all topographical indications—does not mention that localisation furnished by the Chinese pilgrim. Further south by 14 or 15 *li*, Hiouan-ts'ang points out a small *saṅghārāma* where a miraculous statue of Avalokiteśvara is venerated : "If anyone, desiring to see that *Pou-sa* (Bodhisattva), renounces all nourishment and swears to so deprive himself until death, he makes his exit directly from the middle of the statue, permitting to be seen his body which is of a marvellous colour".[6] That precise localisation of a miraculous statue in a determined

2. M.A. STEIN was interested in the topographical information supplied by Hiouan-ts'ang. See *R.T.*, II, pp. 355-357, and f.n. I, 168, n. III, 355.
3. According to the *Si-vu-ki* (*V.P.B.*, II, pp. 168). According to Hoëi-li and Yen-ts'ong, it is the capital which has 100 convents, counting 5000 religious (*V.P.B.*, I, p. 90) and four *stūpa*.
4. Bhau DAJI, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S.*, 1861, p. 223; then M.A. STEIN, *R.T.*, 355, foot note.
5. *V.P.B.* II, p. 180.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-183.

Kaśmīri convent is important, since it can furnish us with the origin of a ritual of devotion to Avalokiteśvara which in course of time will be generalised, preconised by a Kaśmīri nun and broadcast in Tibet.[7]

Thirty *li* to the south-east, an antique convent of imposing proportions was, at the time of Hiouan-ts'ang, in a state of great dilapidation.[8] According to the tradition, Saṅghabhadra would have lived in that convent, which is doubtless one of the vestiges of the past grandeur of the old sect of the Mūlasarvāstivādin. That venerable place was surrounded by *stūpa*, and Hiouan-ts'ang describes its supernatural atmosphere. At the time of his journey, some thirty religious were still there studying the Grand Vehicule.

At about ten *li* to the east of the convent dedicated to the *tooth of Buddha*,[9] on the edge of a mountain situated to the north, that is to say on the north slope of the mountain-link joining the Gopādri to the massif which comprises the right bank of the Vitastā (Jhelum), a little convent was the residence of [Skandhila], author, Hiouan-ts'ang tells us, of the *Tchong-sse-fen-pi-p'o-cha-lun*, which S. Julien gives as *Vibhāṣā-prakaraṇa*.

Hiouan-ts'ang again mentions to northwest of Śrīnagar the convent of the "venal forest",[10] which it is perhaps necessary to render in Sanskrit in the form of Vikrītavanavihāra, where Pūrṇa would have composed a commentary of the *Vibhāṣā*; and about 150 *li* westward (that is, to the northwest) of the capital, a convent *mahāsaṅghika* where a monk named Bodhila wrote out a treatise "where the verities are reassembled" (*Tattvasaṃgraha ?*).

So goes it for Kaśmīr proper, but we must be careful not to forget the districts directly subject to Śrīnagar, which were then (according to Hiouan-ts'ang) Uraśā, Parṇotsa, Rājapurī and Siṃhapura. Convents there were more modest than in the valley, and many were in a state of neglect. In Uraśā, "there is a convent where one sees only a small number of

7. See below, p. 189.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

religious who all study the doctrine of the Lesser Vehicule",and a *stūpa* nearly 200 ft. high.[11] At Parṇotsa five convents are in ruins, another shelters a few religious, while a stone *stūpa* is the source of many miracles.[12] At Rājapurī "there are about ten convents which enclose only a small number of religious".[13] At Siṃhapura, two convents shelter in all 300 religious belonging to the Greater Vehicule : one close to a magnificently decorated *stūpa* whereto come many sick people to request cures; another in the mountain at a place where abound flowers and fruits and basins of running water mirror clear. But another *stūpa* surrounded by ten basins carefully sculptured, is no longer maintained, the neighbouring convent is forsaken. Another again is already half in ruins, the *vihāra* rising beside it deserted.

It would be necessary also to mention Taxila, since Hiouan-ts'ang affirms that kingdom was then a dependent of Kaśmir. In actual fact, the authority of Śrīnagar over that old university town and the State of which it used to be the capital, must have been more theoretical than real, some powerful barons were disputing by main force, which is hardly favourable to meditation and study. Many convents there were in ruins, and religious, all of the greater Vehicule, few in number.

What does archaeology furnish in the form of vestiges of monuments of that epoch ? C.L. Fabri attributes to the 7th century the works in terracotta which he found at Akhnur in the hills which descend towards the Puñjāb about 30 kms. to the north-west of Jammu (see Buddhist Baroque in Kashmir, in *Asia Magazine*, Oct. 1939, pp. 593-598 and *Mārg*, VIII, 1954, pp. 53-64). Those pieces, interesting nevertheless, represent an art which Fabri entitles "Kashmir Buddhist School" and which is in fact a form of late greco-buddhist. They are not without affinities with the specimens collected at Fondukistan, in Afghanistan, and can belong to approximately the same period. But we think that figurative sculpture is impossible to date with any precision, in the absence of decorative elements permitting application of the method of evolution of the motifs, or of inscriptions linked without possible dispute to the works. The problem of datation of Akhnur cannot, however, be disassociated from the study of

11. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

similar work discovered in Kaśmīr itself, be it at Ushkür, be it at Hārvan.[14]

The *Si-yu-ki* interests itself, not without melancoly, in souvenirs from the past grandeur of Buddhism in Kaśmīr. Hoëi-li fortunately completes these indications by enumerating a certain number of Kaśmīri master-teachers contemporaries of Hiouan-ts'ang and specifying their sectary adherence.[15] There were then some Sarvāstivādin (Sa-p'o-to) : Sou-kia-mi-to-lo [Sugatamitra] and Po-sou-mi-to-lo [Vasumitra];[16] some Mahāsaṅghika [Seng-k'i] : Sou-li-ye-ti-po [Sūryadeva] and Chin-na-ta-lo-to [Jinatrāta]; and also some adepts of the Greater Vehicule : Pi-chou-tho-seng-ho [Viśuddhasiṃha] and Chin-na-fan-tou [Jinabandhu].

Not less than the prosperity material and to a certain degree statistical of Buddhism, imports to us the disciplinary purity and ethics of the monks, their erudition and, better still, their culture and wisdom. Hiouan-ts'ang, in his biographies, is not sparing of praise : "For several centuries, erudition had been in great honour in that kingdom; those religious who were distinguishing themselves as much for purity of character and solidity of virtue, as by brilliance of talent and richness of explications, were also admired".[17] However, a small sentence, ambiguous enough, prepares, without insistence, a certain restriction : "But although the religious of that country were far from attaining renown, they were very superior to other men". Is it to be understood that Kaśmīri religious, despite their eminent merit, were not altogether worthy of the same praise as those of other provinces, perhaps as their colleagues from the Maghadian universities ?

Hiouan-ts'ang, in any case, must have esteemed himself satisfied with the monastic milieu he found in Kaśmīr, since he stayed there and worked there for two years. In particular he attached himself to a *dharmasvāmin*, concerning whom he

14. See below, pp. 59-60.
15. *V.P.B.*, I, p. 94.
16. This Vasumitra is he the one who was honoured by Mahāśākyabala, king of Haridvāra, to which Kaśmīr was subject (*T.N.*, p. 172) ? This is possible, but not at all certain.
17. *V.P.B.*, I, p. 94.

multiplies testimonies of affectionate admiration : "The religious were having at their head a master of the law of eminent virtue, who used to observe, with severe purity, the rules of the discipline. He was gifted with profound intelligence, and his vast instruction embraced all branches of science. His talents and his lights had something divine, and his benevolent heart was full of affection for sages and of esteem for people of culture".[18] A veritable friendship established itself between the two men, and for the Indian religious, already 70 years of age, that was the cause of a revival : in honour of his Chinese pupil, he organised several work sessions which attracted "all studious men from the various parts of the kingdom".

THE MISSION OF 'THON-MI SAMBHOṬA

Would it then seem so surprising that visitors from other distant places had been lured by the prestige of such an exalted knowledge of science joined to virtue so genuine ? That there were strangers of many races in that Kaśmir, centre of commerce as well as of education, halting place between central Asia and India by the route through the Karakoram, always difficult and perilous, always frequented, that is more than probable. Hiouan-ts'ang rubbed shoulders there with Dards and Balti, with Kīra and Khaśa, probably with Persians and inhabitants of central Asia, with people from Ladakh and from Zang-zung. Did he meet there Tibetans of pure ancestry, from the central provinces of Dbus and Gcaṅ ? There would have been nothing impossible in that, and perhaps it is very close to probable that two of the most striking personalities of Asiatic cultural history, Hiouan-ts'ang and 'Thon-mi, called Sambhoṭa, met each other in Kaśmīr.

One is familiar with accounts of the mission of 'Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, sent to India by Sroṅ-bcan-sgam-po to learn writing and adapt it to the notation of the Tibetan language. A certain number of texts state with precision 'Thon-mi went to Kaśmīr. In particular it is so stated in the *Chos-'byuṅ* of Bu-ston and in the *Annals* of Ladakh which, for the antique periods, are based on documents worthy of confidence. Other

18. *V.P.B.*, I, pp. 92-93.

authors forbear from being so specific : that is the case with Gzon-nu-dpal, in general well informed however.[19]

Finally another tradition, according to Mongolion authorities, pretends that 'Thon-mi went to the Magadha and created Indian writing according to the characters *lañcā* and *vartula*; it is even specified : the characters *dbu-can* from the *lañca* and

19. Doubtless it is not without interest to compare the essential passages dealing with that event. Twice Gzon-nu-dpal mentions the creation of Tibetan writing by 'Thon-mi Sambhoṭa (pp. 39-40 and 218-219). His report is very detailed : "In the reign of Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po, 'Thon-mi Sambhoṭa was sent to the Indies. There he studied the alphabet and language with *ācārya* Lha'i rig-pa seṅ-ge [Devavitsiṃha]. On his return to Tibet, he made the 30 letters of the Tibetan alphabet from the 50 letters of the Indian (alphabet)." Gzon-nu-dpal then explains in full the modifications that 'Thon-mi applied to the Indian alphabet in order to adapt it to Tibetan phonetics, which proves his desire to expatiate on this important subject, which on the whole does not require special data.

The *Annals of Ladakh* seem to know very much more about the matter : "Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po sent 'Thon-mi, the son of A-nu, with a '*bro* (measure) of gold and sixteen companions to Kaśmīr, in order to learn the writing. He learned the letters from the brāhmin Li-byin. Paṇḍit Seṅ-ge sgra [Siṃhanāda] taught them the language. Adjusting the letters to the Tibetan language, they created twenty-four *gsal-byed* and six *riṅs*, (in all) thirty. And they gave them a form similar to that of the *nāgara* characters of Kaśmīr."

Finally, here is the narration of this important event as presented by Bu-ston : his report differs from that of the *Annals of Ladakh* on some points of detail which, by proving the independence of the two texts, increases the credibility of the main points : "Since, at that time, there was no script in Tibet, the king sent towards Kaśmīr 'Thon-mi son of A-nu, an incarnarion of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, called Sambhoṭa, to learn the writing. The latter studied the written language...with the master-teacher Devavidyāsiṃha, returned to Tibet, and...he created the alphabet at the castle of Ma-ru in Lha-sa, in concordance with the shape of the Kaśmīri letters, and composed eight manuals of grammar."

What can one conclude from this ? Either that 'Thon-mi Sambhoṭa really went to Kaśmīr, or else that the legend of that journey was established during an antique era, in a region where exchanges with Kaśmīr were particularly numerous and when that Indian province seemed to be the most easily accesible to the Tibetans ; doubtless consequently to the land of Guge, during the 11th and 12th centuries.

the characters *dbu-med* form the *vartula*. The *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* endeavours to reconcile the different traditions : 'Thon-mi Sambhoṭa would have taken his inspiration from *lañca*and Kaśmīri letterings.

Of those two traditions, the one which permits to intervene the *lañca* writing (of which *vartula* lettering is a variety) is manifestly false : according to Vogel, the *lañca* characters, which Tibetans use to note some Sanskrit texts, are based on the *nāgarī* of the 10th century.[20] The oriental origin of a Tibetan style of writing is correct : but that writing, however, venerable it may appear to Tibetans, was introduced into Tibet some three centuries after 'Thon-mi Sambhoṭa. That certainly does not mean that the other tradition, that of the Kaśmīri origin of the Tibetan characters, may coincide more with fact. For the paleography, if incapable of invalidating, is hardly more capable of confirming the tradition, it being clearly understood how necessary it is to beware of translating "Kaśmīri writing" by "*śāradā*" : the *śāradā* style appeared, so it seems, only two centuries later.[21]

Vogel, who has drawn up on this point an extensive note, published by Francke, concludes his study, thus :[22] "Our conclusion is that the Tibetan is derived from the Northern Indian script, which was used in the 7th century. It is not based on the *śāradā*, but has certain points of similarity with this script, which suggest that both were derived from the same Northern Indian character."

Nothing forbids one to think that this hypothetical

20. *Ep. ind.*, XI, p. 270.
21. The whole problem is in fact linked to datation of the manuscript of Bakhṣālī : if that manuscript really dates from the 7th century, one can reject the hypothesis of the Kaśmīri origin of Tibetan writing. It goes otherwise if, on the contrary, one admits, as is probable, that the writing in use in Kaśmīr during the 7th century was a script of Gupta style, presenting affinities with that of Gilgit and that of Koutcha. That writing would be the ancestor of the *śāradā*, of which the Bakhṣālī manuscript offers a slightly archaic model. In fact, if for datation of that manuscript one relies on the paleographic criterion, it seems difficult to propose a date much before the start of the 9th century. On this point see the opinion of J. FILLIOZAT, *L'Inde Classique*, Vol. II, pp. 175 and 679.
22. *Ep. ind.*, XI, pp. 266 and following.

common ancestor be precisely the lettering in use in Kaśmīr at the commencent of the 7th century. Vogel thinks that 'Thon-mi really went to Khotan (in Tibetan Li) and that the name of his master Li-byin means "the blessing of Khotan" : that is strongly probable, but it is not proven. After all, Li-byin is only the Tibetan equivalent of the Sanskrit Kaṃśadatta : one can indeed call oneself Kaṃśadatta without being from Khotan. But Vogel's interpretation presents the disadvantage of not admitting the unanimous evidence of the authorities, that 'Thon-mi went to India in quest of the writing.

The most recent conclusion is presented by Jean Filliozat.[23] It is very much more delicate in its shades of meaning than that of Vogel: "The nearest lettering to that of Tibet...appears to be that on the bricks of Gopālpur, of Gupta style without showing the points of the *siddham* writing, but Tibetan classical characters present similar points : it is then probable that their Indian models were connected at the same time with the lettering of Gopālpur and with the *siddham*." That conclusion does not exclude the possibility of a Kaśmīri origin. The *siddham* style, widely prevalent throughout the whole of the Indian domain and posterior to the 7th century, was current in Kaśmīr at the time of al-Bīrūnī. The "points" of the *siddham* writing are moreover very much more a matter of style of execution than of shape of characters and style of execution evidently depends on the instrument used in order to write and also on the material on which one writes or in which one engraves : even from the time when the bricks of Gopālpur were prepared, the points would have been able to occur in flowing writing on light and perishable materials.

As to the other master of 'Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, Devavitsiṃha, his name calls up those of three Kaśmīri brahmins who, according to Tāranātha, would have converted to Buddhism at the time of Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po and would have broadcast in Kaśmīr the logic of Dharmakīrti and the reasoning to seven members[24] : their names, Vidyāsiṃha, Devavidyākara and Devasiṃha, could very well be only three different forms of a single name, appearing elsewhere under the form Devavidyāsiṃha. That Vidyāsiṃha—is he perhaps the personage whom the *Annals of Ladakh* call the *paṇḍit* Seṅ-ge [Siṃha] or, according to another manuscript, Seṅ-ge sgra [Siṃhanāda] ?

23. *Inde Classique*, II, p. 677.
24. *T.N.*, 183 and below, pp. 65-66.

That would tend to prove that Tāranātha, the master of Bu and the compiler of the *Annals of Ladakh*, had access to some sources difficult to interpret, that it concerned itself with one unique source or, more likely, with diverse documents rearranging antique data, and that, in those rather well informed hypothetical texts, Kaśmīr intervened precociously in the history of contacts between India and Tibet, possibly from the epoch of Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po.

Moreover, the names of the brahmin Li-byin [Kaṃśadatta] and of *paṇḍit* Seṅ-ge [Siṃha] are not the only names of Kaśmīri contemporaries of Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po with whom the *Annals of Ladakh* try to acquaint us. After having related the creation of the Tibetan alphabet, the *Annals* continue : "the Kaśmīri masters Tabuta, Ganuta, the brahmin Li-byin, invited to Tibet at the same time as the Indian teacher Kumāra, the Nepali teacher Śila-mañju and the Chinese teacher Ha-śaṅ mahādheba [Ho-shang mahādeva]; the *lo-cā-ba* 'Thon-mi, Dharma go-śa, and Dpal-gyi rdo-rje of Lha-luṅ". But these persons are not contemporaries. They were active between the mission of 'Thon-mi and the reign of Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan : it is the aim of a classifying mind to reconcile an important event with the consequences it entrained.

These two visits, one certain, the other very hypothetical, would suffice to show the importance and the radiation of Kaśmīri Buddhism in the first half of the 7th century. Can the Vitastā valley boast of having received during the same epoch another famous Buddhist, Indian this time, a man of great learning, grammarian, scholar, and more—a pious devote of the Tārā, the great Candragomin ? Sylvain Lévi thought so, and that journey would have preluded the writing of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*. One could suppose then that the cult of Tārā, so flourishing in Kaśmīr during the following century, was introduced there by the author of the *Tārāsādhanaśataka*.[26] Unhappily, S. Lévi's argumentation relies, so it seems, on very

25. The manuscript *L* spells the names of these Kaśmīris Tabata and Ghanuta.

26. Attribution of the *Tārāsādhanaśataka* to Candragomin is only probable, and not certain.

fragile tokens.[27]

The date proposed by S. Lévi for Candragomin (the first three quarters of the 7th century), versus the arguments of Minayeff (4th century or start of the 5th century) and those of B. Liebich (publishing of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* between 465 and 544), is quite probable. In any case, Noël Péri, some years later, did not risk making an error in placing it (also in the *B.E.F.E.O.*, 1911, A propos de la date de Vasubandhu) between Hiouan-ts'ang and Yi-tsing The latter, as S. Lévi showed, translated by Yue-kouan the name of the great Buddhist grammarian, who was still living on his arrival in India.

The tradition of Candragomin's journey to Kaśmīr is based on a *śloka* of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, translated thus by A. Stein : "Under his instructions (Abhimanyu's), Candrācārya and others brought the *Mahābhāṣya*, which was at that time difficult of access (for study), into general use, and (also) prepared their own grammar".[28] (*R.T.*, I, 176). According to A. Stein's text, S. Lévi translates this passage in a manner slightly different, by linking that *śloka* to the preceding one, which celebrates the foundation of Abhimanyupura : "It is from that place that Candra the *ācārya* and others received the traditional explanation of the *Mahābhāṣya* and they could consequently replace the work in circulation and compose their own grammar". He comments : "The rebirth of grammatical study had for point of departure the tradition preserved at Abhimanyupura" (*op. cit.*, p. 50, note). To aid his thesis, S. Lévi also cites a passage from the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari which is both more and less explicit : "The disciples of Patañjali had allowed to fall into disuse the traditional explanation of the grammarian's text...But Candra the *ācārya* and others, who were on the trial searching for the seed of the *Bhāṣya* received from the mountain the traditional explanation and in consequence founded several schools." S. Lévi adds : "*Parvata*, the mountain, is a designation which suits Kaśmīr very well." We like it very much, but another passage of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, proves, precisely, that the explanation of the *Mahābhāṣya* had been forgotten in Kaśmīr, at a date not so very remote from that of the supposed journey of Candragomin : "The king (Jayāpīḍa) made to come from outside masters able to explain the *Mahābhāṣya*, and in this way, he restored in his country the study which had been interrupted" (IV, 488).

Decidedly we cannot, despite our wish, resolve to defend, starting from such fragile indices, the hypothesis (rather secondary even in the perspective of S. Lévi) of a study tour of Candragomin in Kaśmīr, the consequences of which would have been nothing less than the editing of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*.

27. *B.E.F.E.O.*, 1903, pp. 38-53.
28. *Candrācāryādibhir labdhvā deśāt tasmāt tadāgamam parvartitaṃ mahābhāṣyaṃ svaṃ ca vyākaraṇaṃ kṛtam.*

Moreover, after that peaceful start of the century, many other movements of populations and even transfers of eminent personages,[29] choice prey for conquering patrons, are going to stir up ideas and insensibly transform the very face of India.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONFUSION ON THE FRONTIERS OF KAŚMĪR

At that time (epoch corresponding to the reign of Pratāpāditya II) on the borders of Kaśmīr are occuring sensational events of extreme importance, likely to modify the political map of the world : in these events Kaśmīr, almost unconsciously, finds itself more of less involved.

The first is the extraordinary expansion of Islam, from which Kaśmīr for a long time was able to remain remote. The conquest of Persia commences in the year 13 of the Hegira, probably at the very moment when Hiouan-ts'ang has just left Kaśmīr. Ten years later, the first Arab cavaliers have conquered the Takla Makran, and Hakim penetrates into India as far as Thana and Bharauch; then, on orders from the Khalif, he returns to Baluchistan. But, so strong has been the Iranian resistance, it is only in 654 that the Afghan Seistan is conquered. This time Bactrian and Kapiśa fall into the hands of the Arabs who are at the doors of India and of central Asia.

In addition, the Chinese are unfurling wings of ambition over the old Indo-European kingdoms of central Asia, Buddhist by religion. There, they were clashing with the newcomers, the Turks, whose military power had been very much shaken by the war waged by T'ai-tsong as far as Mongolia. Beaten to the east, the Turks were conquerers to westward and their hegemony was seeming well established over the kingdoms of the Tarim. But it is now that the Chinese impose their sovereignty at Koutcha in 615, at Karachar, Kashgar, Khotan in 632, finally at Yarkand, terminus of the Karakoram route, in 635. The hegemony of China over those regions was also precarious : revolt follows revolt until the moment when, in 665, the western Turks recapture independence : it is understood that the Chinese sought alliances as far as Kaśmīr, beyond that central Asia so dearly disputed.

29. *Cf.* for example, note 39, pp. 22-23,

At the particular moment appear a third robber, in the person of the successor to Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po : in 670, Tibet imposes its hegemony on eastern Turkestan for some twenty years. At the commencement of the 8th century, with Khri-lde gcug-bcan, Tibet intervenes in international diplomacy : it is concluding matrimonial alliances with the Turks and agreements with the Arabs, reached to Sogdian : Arabs, Tibetans and western Turks, installed to southward of lake Balkach, form a coalition, against which Hiouan-ts'ang assumes himself with the Kaśmīr alliance. The *T'ang chou* (chap. CCXXI) informs us about it in these terms : "At the beginning of the time of *k'ai-yuen* (713-741) (Kaśmīr) sent some ambassadors to render homage at the Court. During the eighth year (720), an imperial decree conferred by warrant the title of king on King Tchen-t'o-lo-pi-li (Candrāpīḍa)".[30]

That alliance was not however simply theoretical. Around 740 the Chinese led an expedition against Baltistan and on that occasion Chinese troops encamped at the edge of Mahāpadmasaras. This is how the *T'ang chou* recalls those events :

"On the death (of Candrāpīḍa) his youngest brother Mou-to-pi (Muktāpīḍa) mounted the throne;[31] he sent the ambassador Ou-li-to to pay homage at the Court, to say moreover that, ever since his family had been in power, all (the kings of Kaśmīr) had been subjects of the celestial *kagan*, and they had consented to send some troops to act in agreement with his (owns); "my kingdom (he used to say) has three categories of soldiers, some mounted on elephants, others horsemen, the third on foot; myself and the king of India of the Centre, we have obstructed the five great paths of the T'ou-po (Tibetans) and have prevented their comings and goings; we gave battle and were immediately victorious; When opportunities presented themselves, such as when the soldiers of the heavenly *kagan* arrived in Pou-lu, although their number was two hundred thousand, I was able to send convoys of supplies to their aid. Moreover, in my kingdom there is the pool of dragon Mo-ho-po-to-mo (Mahāpadma); I desire to build there a sanctuary in honour of the celestial *kagan*. "He was thus requesting that he be granted the title of king. (The officials of the) *hong-lou* (court of State Ceremony) translated

30. *E. Chavannes*, *Turcs Occidentaux*, pp. 166-168.
31. There is there a slight inexactitude : between the reign of Candrāpīḍa and that of Muktāpīḍa intercalates the short reign of their brother Tārāpīḍa, a cruel sovereign, done away with, according to Kalhaṇa, thanks to magic rites.

(that request) in order to inform the Emperor. An imperial decree ordered to receive Ou-li-to, offer him a banquet in the principal hall of the palace and give him presents in abundance; the title of king was conferred on Mou-to-pi by diploma. Starting from that moment, the official tribute was with constancy supplied (by Kaśmīr).'[32]

Al-Bīrūnī, for his part, speaks of a victory obtained over the Turks by king Muttaī, that is to say, according to a suggestion of Bühler, Muttapir mediaeval-Indian for Muktāpīḍa,[33] a victory of which the anniversary was still being celebrated by the Kaśmīris in the time of al-Bīrūnī.[34]

That battle for Gilgit has not been carried out without upsetting the life of the communities of that ancient Buddhist centre. The monasteries have indeed had to submit to many insults and the monks have retired t neighbouring provinces still sheltered from those upheavals, that is to say towards Kaśmīr and, above all, through Chitral, towards Uḍḍiyāna. For a certain time the Tibetans occupied Baltistan, then, in 747, the Korean Kao Sien-tche, by crossing the Pamirs and the Hindu Kush, got as far as Gilgit : it is understood that Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya, by cutting the supply line of Tibetan reinforcements, had been able to bring him valuable assistance.

Some years later, the Arabs reached at Bukhara in 729 and at Samarkand in 737, inflicted in 751 a cruel defeat over the Chinese, to north of Ferghana, on the banks of the Talas, in the upper basin of the Syr-daria. That decisive victory, brought about with the help of the Qarlouqs, is at the origin of the "islamisation" and "turquisation" of central Asia, to the detriment of Buddhism. Following that battle, the Qarlouqs and the Ouigours remained masters of an important territorial domain, encircling the oases of Tarim. Those political events had serious consequences for the history of the religions : not only were the little Buddhist communities of central Asia rapidly eliminated, but links between Chinese Buddhism and Indian Buddhism found themselves distended. In central Asia only the Ouigours maintained the presence of Buddhism, while expecting the conversion of the Mongols to Lamaism.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
33. *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 383.
34. SACHAU, *Al-Bīrūnī*, t. II, p. 178.

Chased from their monasteries, the religious of the Iranian frontiers and of central Asia retreated towards the lands where Buddhism continued to be protected and flourishing, the north-west of India, also Tibet and the provinces over which its domination still extended. Two "prophecies" (*vyākaraṇa*), published by F.W. Thomas,[35] bear witness to this. Thus, Indian monks mingled with refugees, who were assuredly well received, but who must more than once have surprised their hosts. What kind of Buddhism was being practised at that time by those inhabitants of central Asia, and even of Kashgar, of Samarkand or of Bukhara ? Let us think about the peculiarities that Indian Buddhism presents, as permitted to be divined from the documents translated by Benveniste ![36]

THE REIGN OF LALITĀDITYA

The Kaśmīr chronicle reflects those political events only in the vaguest manner. Kalhaṇa, in order to exalt the glory of Lalitāditya, blends legend and poetic fantasy into history. Yet, some marks of cosmopolitanism reveal perhaps a change in the countenance of Kaśmīri society, following displacements of population swept along due to military conflicts: refugees who have established themselves in Kaśmīr or who passed through only in transit, have been able to introduce their modes and customs, some exotic ideas, while abroad Kaśmīri contingents are jostling Iranians, Turks, Arabs, Chinese, and Tibetans.

35. F.W. THOMAS, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, t. I, pp. 53 sq., and 77 sq.

36. "The vocabulary of Sogdian Buddhism proves that Buddhistic propaganda in Sogdian country held sway in Mazdean or Zervanist environment and that it only progressed, thanks to unceasing adaptations" (*J.R.A.S.*, 1933). So, in one *sūtra*, translated in 728, Brahmā is given by *zrw'* which responds to *zrvan* in Avestic language. The IV, V and VI fragments of the British Museum name the "pious Zr'wsc" (Zarathustra). See in particular :

Note sur les textes sogdiens bouddhiques du British Museum, *J.R.A.S.*, 1933, pp. 29-68.

Note Sur le fragment sogdien du Buddhadhyānosamādhisāgara sūtra, with the collaboration of P. DEMIEVILLE, *J.A.*, Oct. 1933.

Textes sogdiens, Paris, 1940.

Vessantarajātaka, Paris, 1946.

Kalhaṇa evokes, in particular, a strange personality, who plays an important political role, that of minister Tuḥkhāra Caṅkuṇa.[37] Was Caṅkuṇa Turkish, as is pretended?[38] Would not Kalhaṇa have been more inclined to use the word Turuṣka (by which to tell the truth, he designates also the Kuṣāṇa, who were not Turks) if he had wanted to designate Caṅkuṇa as one of those Turks, which he represents to us, some *śloka* from there (*R.T.*, IV, 179), hands folded behind the back, in an attitude to them familiar, and with head half-shaven? The word *tukhāra*, or *tuṣāra*, which, to believe Varāhamihira, designates a barbarous people to northwest of the Madhyadeśa (*Bṛhatsamhitā*, 14, 22 and 16, 6) had then doubtless a significance purely geographical and not ethnical, and must have meant "native of Tocharestan" on the upper Oxus, below the Pamirs.[39] In another passage, the author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* specifies that Lalitāditya's minister came from Tuḥkharadeśa,[40] unless it would be read Bhuḥkaradeśa, a rendering which S. Lévi seemed to prefer;[41] that information, however, scarcely modifies the former, since Bukhara is situated in the middle basin of the Amu-daria, hardly downstream from Tocharestan.

Be that as it may, this "foreigner" was a fervent Buddhist : Caṅkuṇa's exact origin is less important than the evidence it carries of emigrations and doubtless of the rush, towards a country where convents were numerous, of Buddhists chased from their homes through Mussulman intolerance.

37. *R.T.*, IV, 211.
38. "Caṅkuṇa is clearly described by Kalhaṇa as a Tuḥkhāra or Turk." (*Notes on Ou-k'ong's account of Kaśmīr*, p. 19).
39. *R.T.*, IV, 246.
40. As shows A. STEIN, *A.S.R.T.*, VI, 166, there is no ground for attaching a particular significance to the spelling veriation Tuḥkhāra for Tukhāra. The Tocharestan, composed of 57 tribes, around the town of Kou-tou, or Ko-t'ou-lo, is mentioned and described by Hiouan-t'sang (II, p. 27) and by Ou-k'ong (*J.A.*, Sept.-Oct. 1895, p. 361), also by Arab and Persian writers.
41. *Itinéraire d' Ou-K'ong*. M.A. STEIN discards the reading Bhuḥkharadeśa supplied by manuscript A_1 (IV, 246), under the pretext that the *ta* and the *bha* are easily confused in *śāradā*. Let us recognise that the examples he gives of that confusion are convincing, while admitting that the reading Bhuḥkhara, already adopted by Wilson, is very tempting.

Now that important personage (Caṅkuṇa) was a magician and alchemist, like his brother who bore the significent name of Kaṅkaṇavarṣa :[42] he filled with gold the coffers of the king, thanks to his magic science[43] and new Moses, he parted the waters, in order to permit Lalitāditya and his army to cross a river in flood : moreover he gave Lalitāditya two jewels (*maṇi*) which had permitted him to perform that prodigious feat, in exchange for an effigy of the one which made possible to cross the course of the *saṃsāra*.[44]

In many spheres Lalitāditya's reign marks a revival. Buddhist foundations are rare under his predecessors : in the reigns of Durlabhavardhana, Pratāpāditya II, Candrāpīḍa and Tārāpīḍa, Kalhaṇa mentions only the dedication of the Anaṅgabhavana, a *vihāra* founded by the wife of Durlabhavardhana,[45] and of the Prakāśikāvihāra, founded by Prakāśadevī, wife of Candrāpīḍa.[46] Furthermore, Hindu foundations are hardly less numerous, which leads one to think that the poverty is more significant on the economic than on the religious plane.

On the contrary, Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa showed himself as concerned about his architectural renown as about his military fame, the latter surely favouring the former : the successes of the Kaśmīri armies have helped to raise the economic level of the country. The large number of Buddhist foundations is proof of the prosperity of the community, in as much as they are not going without the *agrahāra* intended to assure maintenance of the religious and the pomp of the cult, sometimes princely; to believe Kalhaṇa, the country of Kanauj would likewise have been given to the sanctuary of Āditya, which the constructor of Mārtāṇḍa erected at Lalitapura.[47]

The king himself founded, in his new capital Parihāsapura, a *vihāra*, known by the name of Rājavihāra, a *caitya* and a colossal statue of the Jina;[48] that *Bṛhadbuddha*, which escaped

42. *R.T.*, IV, 246.
43. *R.T.*, IV, 247.
44. *R.T.*, IV, 258-260.
45. *R.T.*, IV, 3.
46. *R.T.*, IV, 79.
47. *R.T.*, IV, 187.
48. *R.T.*, IV, 200.

destruction in the reign of Harṣa,[49] used to weight 84,000 *prastha* of copper. Kalhaṇa, who underlines the tolerance of the king "exempt from passion", profits from it in order to specify that he used 84,000 *tolaka* of gold for the likeness of Muktakeśava, that, in pious mood, he added the same number of *pala* of silver for the holy Parihāsakeśava, and that, with the same number of thousands of *prastha* of copper, he built the famous statue of the Grand Buddha, which reaches the skies. Finally he built the *catuḥśālā* and the *caitya* with an equal sum : thus the five foundations were treated with rigorous equality (*dhanenaiveti tasyāsan pañca hirmitayaḥ samāḥ*)[50] That scrupulous tolerance, which appears highly praiseworthy, to our brahmin moralist, doubtless had some political reasons also; it calls to mind numerous analogies in the Indian world, for example that of Yaśovarman I of Cambodia, some decades later, founding some hermitages, Buddhistic, Śivaite of Viṣṇuite, assigning to them almost word for word the same settlement (*śāsana*).[51] The king likewise caused to be constructed at Huṣkapura, opposite Varāhamūla, a large *vihāra* and a *stūpa*.[52]

In his entourage the architectural zeal was not less. The minister Caṅkuṇa, who perhaps exerted over his sovereign an influence favourable to Buddhism, also himself founded two *vihāra*, one at Śrīnagar,[53] restored later by the pious Sussalā,[54] wife of Rilhaṇa, minister of Jayasiṃha, the other at Parihāsapura,[55] at the same time as a *stūpa*. In this last *vihāra*, he placed some gold statuettes of "Jina", and in the first an effigy of the Buddha in bronze mounted on an elephant. The medical attendant Īśānacandra, son-in-law of Caṅkuṇa, also founded a *vihāra*.[56] Finally, during the same epoch, the king of Lāṭa'[57]

49. *R.T.*, VII, 1097-1098.
50. *R.T.*, IV, 201-204.
51. G. COEDES, A la recherche de Yaśodharaśzama, *B.E.F.E.O*, XXXIII, p. 84.
52. *R.T.*, IV, 188.
53. *R.T.*, IV, 215.
54. *R.T.*, VIII, 2415.
55. *R.T.*, IV, 211.
56. *R.T.*, IV, 216.
57. Sir Aurel Stein admits that the Lāṭa in question is indeed the territory of southern and central Gujerat which bears that name: it would

(*Contd.*)

named Kayya, built "the sacred Kayyavihāra, a veritable marvel".[58]

One could scarcely be surprised that the rhythm of the foundations slowed down under Lalitāditya's successors. After some monarchs without grandeur, Jayāpīḍa, who tried to restore the glory of his grandfather without succeeding in equalling it, reigned thirty-one years at the end of the 8th century and founded only three images of the Buddha and one *vihāra*.[59]

The Chinese pilgrim Ou-k'ong, who spent four years in Kaśmīr, from 759 to 763, and received there his final ordination, shows himself in his memoirs less valuable than Hiouan-ts'ang.[60] However, he confirms the prosperity of the Kaśmīr church after Lalitāditya's reign and describes more than three hundred monasteries, whereas Hiouan-ts'ang, one hundred and thirty years earlier, drew attention to only thirty. But Ou-kong's description does not permit any doubt : he speaks well, as did Hiouan-ts'ang, of the valley properly so called and not of a "great Kaśmīr" of vaster proportions. That difference is too important not to be significant, however considerable may be the errors of appreciation and of memory of the two travellers.

Ou-k'ong names a certain number of monasteries, some of which have been identified by M.A. Stein with much ingeniosity : the Moung-ti-wei-houo-lo (Mundivihāra or Muktavihāra), the Ngo-mi-t'o-p'o-wan (Amṛtabhavana ?), the monastery of Mont Ki-tché (Kṛtyāśrama ?), the monastery of the General (Caṅkuṇavihāra). In addition to those monasteries, the

seem very astonishing however that the sovereign of a very remote land should found monasteries in Kaśmīr. Perhaps Kayya was simply king of Viṣalāṭa, that region situated just to the south of Kaśmīr, with which it communicates through a not very high col at 2800 meters of altitute, in turns independent of or subject to the rulers of Śrīnagar.

58. *R.T.*, IV, 210.
59. *R.T.*, IV, 507.
60. See S. LEVI and E. CHAVANNES, Itinéraire d' Ou-k'ong, *J.A.*, Sept-Oct. 1895; M.A. STEIN, *Notes on Ou-K'ong's account of Kaśmīr*, Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie, Wien, 1895, VI, pp. 341 sq.

Chinese monk mentions that of the Ye-li-t'e-le, founded by the son of the king of the Tou-kiue, and that of K'o-toen (Katun) built by the ruler of the Tou-kiue. Who were those Turks, Buddhists and so generous towards the Kaśmīri monks ? Refugees from Turkestan, dethroned by the Mussulman, which would in interesting manner confirm Kaśmīr's relations with Turkestan, or perhaps, more simply, some members of the Śāhi dynasty, some "Turki Ṣāhiya" of Kapiśa-Gandhāra ?

Ou-k'ong is again furnishing us with a precious indication, in affirming the preponderance in Kaśmīr of the Mūlasarvāstivādin throughout the 8th century : "He understands and practises the interpretation of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin. In fact, in the India of the north, all belong to the school of the Sarvāstivādin." One would like to know more about it. Very fortunately the archaeological excavations satisfy somewhat our curiosity, by revealing to us vestiges of the monuments erected by order of Lalitāditya; moreover, Tibetan sources are restoring to us a part of the work accomplished by Kaśmīri monks contemporaries of the Kārkoṭa sovereigns.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DOCUMENTS

The city of Parihāsapura used to occupy two alluvial tablelands around the present hamlet of Paraspōr, Kaśmīri form derived from the Sanskrit name of the city founded by Lalitāditya. Now, those uplands are presently occupied by a certain number of ruins difficult to identify. However, it seems that three monuments grouped on a little plateau may all be Buddhist monuments. One among them (tell A of the plan of M.A. Stein) is in any case indubitably a *stūpa*, that founded by Caṅkuṇa. Its base is a skewback square more than 40 m. sidelong. On each surface, in the central part, a small flight of steps doubtless used to permit access to some galleries of circumambulation, arranged on the two bases. We are ignorant of the form the *aṇḍa* could have taken, but Ram Chandra Kak describes some toric mouldings of which the sides, not mentioned by Kaśmīri archaeologist, could have informed us about the amplitude of the globe of the *stūpa*. The block in which the *vaṣṭi* used to be sunk has been rediscovered in the debris, but of decoration remain only some atlantes, standing

or seated, which used to support the balustrade of the staircase, also some fragments of the trilobate arches which, at the time of Parihāsapura's grandeur, doubtless used to shelter some statues of Buddha and of Bodhisattva. To the south of the *stūpa*, a square building, composed of a courtyard on to which used to open twenty-six cells, is apparently the *Rājavihāra* (tell B of M.A. Stein)[61] The description that Kalhaṇa[62] sketches of it agrees in any case with this plan : the *vihāra* necessarily included a "*catuḥśālā*." The word recurs several times in Kalhaṇa's writings to indicate an architectural form. It certainly involves the square or rectangular courtyard on which open calls or chapels, as in the famous temple of Mārtāṇḍa founded by the same Lalitāditya : this plan is that of numerous Kaśmīri monuments enhancing various religions.[63] Access to the courtyard was contrived in the eastern wall and was made through a cell forming a veranda. Opposite that entrance, three cells, preceded by a vestibule, were elevated on a base advancing into the interior of the courtyard, and Kak supposes that they used to form the appartment of the abbot of the monastery. In an angle of the courtyard a stone basin was intended for ablutions.

The *caitya* erected on a double base, used to rise immediately to the south of the *vihāra* (tell C of M.A. Stein) and that also used to open to the east. The entrance was surmounted by a trilobate blind arcade, fragments of which have been discovered on the ground. A deambulatory used to surround the square sanctuary, of about 9 m. per side, at the corners of which remain the bases of four pillars. Opposite the entrance, one columnar base is doubtless the vestige of a *dhvajastambha*, but the emblem which perhaps surmounted it, and which would be precious for identifying this edifice with certitude, has not been rediscovered. The building complex used to be surrounded by stone precincts.

61. *R.T.*, IV, 200, and IV, 204.
62. See Daya Ram SAHNI, Pre Muhammadan Monuments of Kashmir, *A.S.I.*, *A.R. for 1915-1916*, Calcutta 1918, pp. 49-78 and Ram Chandra KAK, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London, 1933.
63. Moreover it should be noted that the same architectural disposition is to be found in other places, for example at Bundelkhand, in temples founded by the Candella sovereigns.

Those three monuments were constructed in grey gritstone susceptible to a beautiful polish, worked with care. The blocks have imposing dimensions : the principal slab of the sanctuary measures nearly 5 m. by 4 m. in surface and more than 1.50 m. in thickness. Insufficient though they may be for satisfying our curiosity, these remains nevertheless prove that the foundations mentioned by Kalhaṇa used to merit the praise he awards them.

We would like to know about the sculptural works of art which used to accompany that architecture, in order to be able to judge their style and their aesthetic value. Kalhaṇa describes an effigy of Sugata in bronze,[64] placed by Caṅkuṇa in his *vihāra*,[65] he admired the beauty of the bronze (? gilt) which gave the impression that the Saint was clothed in the ochre robe of the monks and, in his role of good observer of objects of art, he remarks upon the metal circles which enclosed the plinth and confirmed the tradition according to which the statue was enshrined on the back of an elepeant. However, that work of art was not of Kaśmīr origin : it was imported from Magadha, and belongs to the dossier of Pāla art's beginning. But perhaps the Śrīnagar Museum is sheltering some fragments of statuary coming from contemporary monuments of Kaśmīr ?

At Ushkür, which is the Ūskārā of al-Bīrūnī and the ancient Huṣkapura, some decorative fragments and some terracotta work, have been recovered among which one had hoped to find a specimen of Kaśmīri Buddhist art at the time of Lalitāditya. Kalhaṇa informs us, in fact, that Lalitāditya caused to be built at Huṣkapura the Muktasvāmin, a Viṣṇuite sanctuary, and a Buddhist ensemble composed of a *vihāra* and a *stūpa*; and Sir A. Stein showed, in his notes on Ou-k'ong, that the *Moung-ti vihāra* of the Chinese pilgrim was without doubt the *Muktavihāra*, that is to say, the *vihāra* mentioned by Kalhaṇa.[66] But some Buddhist remains have actually been uncovered at Ushkür and mentioned already by Cunningham[67]

Following close upon D.R. Sahni, C.L. Fabri undertook new excavations which have brought to light some terracotta

64. *R.T.*, IV, 259.
65. *R.T.*, IV, 262-263.
66. *A.S.R.T.*, I, 68 and n., and IV, 188.
67. *Ancient Geography*, p. 100.

figurines of a late Greco-Buddhist style. At Hārvan, close to Dal Lake, on the site identified with the Ṣaḍarhadvana,[68] by a commentator of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, and at Akhnur (approx. 30 km. from Jammu) have also been discovered, in addition to fragments more ancients, some terracotta works of the same style as those from Ushkür, and Fabri enclosed them under the denomination of *Kaśmīr buddhist school* or *baroque terracotta school of Kaśmīr.*[69] That writer, with some exaggeration, sees in those pieces, which recall the art of Tondurkistan, "one of the most strikingly and most uniformly lovely achievement of the whole of Indian art history".

Do these works really belong to the 8th century? It would be important to be able to affirm it : that would prove the persistence, in the extreme northwest of India, of a school attaching itself to the Greco-Buddhist art, and could have repercussions on the chronology of Greco-Buddhist art as a whole. In fact, one does not see clearly how Fabri establishes that the excavated monument is indeed that which was created by Lalitāditya. Doubtless there have been at Huṣkapura several *stūpa*—would it not be that attributed to Huṣka himself ? Certainly, the vacant expressions, sometimes an artificial pathos, as in the figure represented on page 54 of *Mārg* (no. 14-a), with lips half-open and eyes raised to heaven, make one think of a late school, or what Fabri calls "baroque". But we have there an argument of "periodisation" (*Periodisierung*) on which one otherwise knows little of value.

However, the skewback plane of the base of the *stūpa* of Parihāsapura, attribution of which to Lalitāditya's reign is scarcely contestable. Certain details of garments equally make one think of mediaeval Kaśmīri art work, in particular the beaded row bordering the lower part of the robes. The feminine torso reproduced fig. 19 (p. 63), clad in supple cloth, with upper edge wavy, leaving the breasts more than half naked, recalls the beautiful Cāmuṇḍā of Pāndrēṭhan, presently at the

68. *A.S.R.T.*, I, 173.
69. See above all C.L. FABRI, Akhnur Terra-cottas, *Mārg*, VIII, fasc. 2. march 1955, pp. 53-64, where the whole of the problem is taken up and bibliography given in entirety.

Śrīnagar Museum,[70] dressed in transparent material, revealing the modelling of the body, with neck and shoulders bared in exactly identical manner.

Let us conclude then, provisionally, that attribution of the remains from Ushkür and Hārvan to the reign of Lalitāditya, without being proved, is not devoid of foundation. Furthermore, the imposing ruins of Paraspōr would suffice as evidence of the prosperity of Buddhism under the rule of Lalitāditya Although dating of masters is scarcely easier than dating of monuments, and in this sphere one also encounters many enigmas, examination of work accomplished by doctors of the Law in Kaśmīr shows that material ease was on equal footing with renewed fecundity.

KAŚMĪRI MASTER-TEACHERS OF THE 7TH AND 8TH CENTURIES

"It seems that, with Vasubandhu and Saṃghabhadra, the fecundity of schools of the Lesser Vehicle is exhausted" remarked la Vallée Poussin, but he immediately amended his opinion by adding : "they are not disappearing but they are producing only a small number of doctors of renown".[71] Now, Yi-tsing, the historian of the Chinese pilgrims in India, mentions the clear preponderance of Mūlasarvāstivādin in the whole of the India of the Northwest at the extreme and of the 7th century.[72] The Mahāsaṅghika were also represented there, but in very much lesser number. In the frontier territories, particularly in Udyāna, the Chinese traveller calls attention to diverse sects attaching themselves to the Mūlasarvāstivādin, Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka and Kāśyapīya.

Leaving to one side the indications provided by Yi-tsing, in order to verify Tāranātha's assertions, it appears that one should be particularly well informed in order to write the history of Indian Buddhism in the century which follows the journey of Hiouan-ts'ang. But one would be wrong to be optimistic, and our ignorance remains great. On examination,

70. H. GOETZ, The Mediaeval Sculpture of Kashmir, *Mārg*, Vol. VII, fasc. 2., march 1955, pp. 65-75, fig. 4, p. 67. Goetz dates that Cāmuṇḍā around 750.
71. *Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde*, p. 340.
72. Moreover, it is at that time, so it seems, that for the first time, from the pen of Yi-tsing, appeared the appellation *mūlasarvāstivādin*.

the interpretation of Yi-tsing confirms itself delicate : the Chinese voyager names a certain number of "contemporaries", Sthiramati, Guṇamati, Śīlabhadra, Guṇaprapha, etc. But that word "contemporary" used by Ryauon Fujishima (*Journal Asiatique*, 1888) would be inexact. In any case, another translator of Yi-tsing, Takakusu, in the thesis he sustained before the University of Leipzig, dates from 550 to 670 the so-called writers qualified as "contemporaries" by Yi-tsing. All would be dead before the arrival in India of the Chinese traveller. The chronology proposed by Noël Péri, who classes Guṇamati at the commencement of the 6th century and Sthiramati in the second part of the 6th century, would even oblige one to reject purely and simply the testimony of Yi-tsing.

Tāranātha, who is our great resource each time information from another origin defaults, enumerates very surely of great number of Indian teachers carefully partitioned to successive reigns of monarchs whose personality, the greater part of the time, escapes us. One could perhaps place confidence in him if, when one tries to compare his information with indications scattered chez the Chinese pilgrims or even chez the Tibetan writers, great confusion was not appearing, origin of incertitudes that at the present state of our documentation, it is impossible to elucidate.[73] One does not hesitate, however, when

73. In the study that he devoted more than half a century ago to the datation of Vasubandhu (*B.E.F.E.O.*, 1911), Noël PERI came up against difficulties of the same kind, despite the prolixity of Paramārtha and Chinese authors. Thus he writes concerning Sthiramati : "Tāranātha, f. 107, indeed seems truly to indicate that Sthiramati has professed at Nālandā;...f. 101, he shows him as born at Daṇḍakāraṇya, from the time of Vasubandhu, of whom he becomes the direct pupil, and f. 123, Sthiramati is the teacher of Guṇamati. Nothing from all that fits in with information of Chinese origin and it causes one to wonder if the authors from the two countries are indeed speaking of the same person. Data about the contemporaries is moreover in disagreement almost as formal. Dharmapāla, who the Chineses make Sthiramati's contemporary, and of whom Hiouan ts'ang translated the writings he had known at Nālandā under the direction of his pupil, the aged Śīlabhadra, is represented as disciple of Candrakīrti, f. 124, the adversary of Candragomin, who would have been Sthiramati's student, f. 116, and who, according to

(*Contd.*)

nothing contradicts Tāranātha, to utilise, in order to date such or such a Buddhist master, the indications that he furnishes. In this way one admits, in general, a manner absolutely plausible, that Śāntideva belongs to the second half of the 7th century. That opinion is based exclusively on Tāranātha.

Louis Finot summarises the argumentation very well in the introduction to his fine translation of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* : "The report that Tāranātha gives us of his life is not only the echo of a hagiographic tradition where history has no doubt only a feeble part. According to that tradition, Śāntideva lived at the time of Śīla, son of Śrī Harṣa..."(p. 11). "From all this, one fact at least is to be retained : it is the date. Harṣa Śīlāditya, having died probably in 643, Śāntideva would have to be placed toward the middle of the 7th century" (p. 13). But then, Candrakīrti would belong equally to the second half of the 7th century, and the generation immediately previous (commencement or middle of the 7th century) would be that of the direct students of Vasubhandu ! It is necessary then to recognize that Tāranātha committed some grave chronological errors. If one understands well the hypothesis which presides over the argumentation resumed by Louis Finot, one admits that the Śrī Harṣa of Tāranātha is Harṣavardhana or indeed

Yi-tsing, was perhaps still alive at the time of the passage of Hiouan-ts'ang. The same Dharmapāla, who when 32 years old, died in the monastery of the Mahābodhi, according to the Chineses, is represented by the Tibetan author as having lived rather a time long and having, at the end of his life, departed towards the east, to the Suvarṇadvīpa, where he concocted an elixir of immortality, f. 124. From data so little in accord, it seems very difficult to extract anything; and in almost nothing does the Sthiramati, placed at Nālandā and in the East by the Tibetans recall the one that the Chineses and the Hindus place at Valabhī." (pp. 354-355)

Despite appearances, it is not useless to consider a study referring to the Vasubandhu who lived in all likelihood at a period very much earlier than that with which we are occupied. A certain number of names mentioned by Tāranātha in chapters 23 and 24 appear in Noël Péri's article : a Sthiramati and a Saṅghadāsa, the latter from Kaśmīr, belonged, so the Tibetan historian believed, to the generation which preceded that of Candragomin, Candrakīrti, Śāntideva and the Kaśmīri Ravigupta, who, S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa considers (wrongly in our opinion) as the initiator of the study of logic in Kaśmīr and dates from the 8th century.

that the kings Śrī Harṣa and Śīla, his son, are a doubling by Tāranātha of the personality of Harṣavardhana, surnamed Śīlāditya ("son of Virtue" as say the Chinese writers) and who died, one knows it without posterity.[74] But other kings in India have borne the names of Harṣa and Śīlāditya.

Starting from the accession in Bengal of the Pāla kings, Tāranātha indicates the Buddhist master-teachers in relation to the reigns of those sovereigns who patronised the great universities of Magadha. For the previous era, Nālandā and Valabhī were the two intellectual poles of the Indian community, where advanced students were coming, according to Yi-tsing, in order to complete their education : the Tibetan historian must have accorded particular interest to sovereigns who ruled over the States of which those two universities used to form part. Perhaps he even had knowledge of documents, heirs to the chronicles of Valabhī and Nālandā.[75]

The king Śrī Harṣa could have been Vikramāditya Harṣa of Ujjain,[76] although it is admitted, in general, that the Mālva was then attached to Valabhī or that the Mālva used to exercise suzerainty over Valabhī. Śīla, son of Harśa, would be Śīlāditya Pratāpśīla, son of Vikramāditya Harṣa,[77] and also the king Śīlāditya who according to Hiouan-ts'ang, was reigning over the Mālva 60 years before his stay in India, which is to say, towards 580. Sylvain Lévi has already identified that last king as Śīlāditya Dharmāditya.[78]

But can one admit that Tāranātha has not named Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, who, even if he was not a great Buddhist,

74. See in particular S. LÉVI, Les missions de Wang Hiuan-tse dans l' Inde, *J.A.*, 1900, I, 297, and PELLIOT. A propos des missions de Wang Hiuan-ts'o, *T'oung Pao*, 1912.
75. The Ma-mkhar of Tāranātha (Mātṛkoṭa) is perhaps Maitraka, the name of the Gurjara dynasty which was reigning over Surāṣṭra until the Mussulman incursions.
    The name Caladhruva makes one think of Dhruvasena and of Dhruvapaṭu, son-in-law of Śilāditya of Kanauj (according to S. Lévi to correct as Dhruvabhaṭa) (see *Les donations religieuses des rois de Valabhī*, Bibliotheque de l' Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences religieuses, Vol. VII, pp. 76-100).
76. *R.T.*, III, 125.
77. *R.T.*, III, 330.
78. No. 8 of the geneological tree presented by S. Lévi, *art cit.*

as Hiouan-ts'ang would like to make us believe has been adopted by Buddhistic legend ? That would be extremely unlikely. It is, in reality, very probably that Tāranātha did not know how to differentiate the various Harṣa or Śīlāditya, and that misunderstanding is the source of many mistakes.[79] From that medley of uncertainties emerge, however, some assured facts, which can be summarised in a few words : the craze for logic, which follows the precepts of Dharmakīrti, is spreading in Kaśmīr, which will give to Buddhism some of his great logicians; in opposition to that speculative aspect, a devotion recent if not new, happily comes to recall that Buddhism is, above all else, a religion.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE STUDY OF LOGIC

To the file on early mentions of logic in Kaśmīr must be added a pointer furnished by Hiouan-ts'ang : the treatise *Chun-tching-li-lun (Nyāyānusāraśāstra ?)* was composed by Saṅghabhadra in a convent situated on a large mountain to south-east of the capital.[80]

In the following period mediaeval Kaśmīr supplied Buddhism with a great number of logicians who all, whatever may have been their tendencies, and whether they attached themselves to logic as an end in itself or on the contrary as a means of apologetics, attached themselves to Diṅnāga and to his continuator Dharmakīrti. To believe Tāranātha[81] on this point, the logic of Dharmakīrti would have been introduced into Kaśmīr by three Kaśmīri brahmins converted to Buddhism and named Rig-pa seṅ-ge (Vidyāsiṃha) (presumed author of a commentary on the *Jātakamālā* of the Kaśmīri Śūra, *Mdo*, CXXXIII, 8),[82] Lha-seṅ-ge (Devasiṃha) and Lha rig-pa (Devavidyākara).

79. For that matter we think it is not useless to resume the chronology proposed by TĀRANĀTHA in chapters 23 to 27 of his *History of Buddhism*, not only in order to show more clearly the inexactitudes, but still more to offer for reference a picture of the whole of the data furnished by Tāranātha, in view of an eventual positive exploitation.
80. *V.P.B.*, II, p. 183.
81. *T.N.*, p. 183.
82. The author of that commentary is named Viryasiṅha (*sic*), in the

(*Contd.*)

Otherwise nothing happens to confirm that assertion of the Tibetan historian or give it plausibility and yet those names are not unknown they recall very closely that of the teacher of 'Thon-mi Saṃbhoṭa, Devavidyāsiṃha.[83] Tāranātha's chronology is coherent, and in ever so small a degree one would be able to hazard a synthesis of that data : in the first half of the 7th century, a Kaśmīri pupil of Dharmakīrti would have had the privilege of teaching Sanskrit to the minister of Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po (whether the three brahmins named by Tāranātha are or are not distinct personages).

Be that as it may, in the absence of new and precise definitions that hypothetical introduction in Kaśmīr of the "*pramāṇa* of seven members" only offers a rather reduced anecdotical interest.

On the contrary, during the 8th century two logicians of importance appear in Kaśmīr : these are the first representatives of a long line of commentators whose chronology is difficult to establish, since the majority of the work on logic have only been translated in the 11th century.[84]

Vinītadeva belongs, according to Stcherbatsky, to the "philological school", which attaches itself to the literal interpretation of Dharmakīrti.[85] The author of the *Blue Annals* places

Tibetan translations, doubtless it is a misprint for Vidyāsiṃha, that is to say Vidyākarasiṃha translator of that text and of the *Jātakamālā* itself (*Mdo*, XCI, 1).

83. *Cf.* above, p. 46.

84. The *Blue Annals* (p. 346) furnish the following transmission from the *Pramāṇavārttika* (to be understood from the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*):

1. Diṅnāga,	7. Dharmakīrti,
2. Īśvarasena,	8. Prajñākaragupta,
3. Dharmakīrti,	9. Ravigupta,
4. Devendrabodhi,	10. Yamāri,
5. Śakyabodhi,	11. Jñānaśrīmitra,
6. Vinītadeva,	12. Dharmottara, etc.

It is unfortunately a great pity that one cannot content oneself with accepting, without criticising it, this list of succession, that later it will be convenient to examine in greater detail : let us content ourselves, for the moment, by remarking that no. 12 of that list, who follows a writer of the 11th century, belongs in fact to the 8th century (Cf. below, pp. 122-124).

85. *Indian Logic*, p. 40.

him in the filiation of the *Pramāṇavārttika*, between Śākyabodhi and the second Dharmakīrti, and he is considered by Tāranātha as anterior to Haribhadra : he would belong to the generation following the death of the first Dharmakīrti. These indications, although very vague, agree sufficiently for one to be able to assign Vinītadeva to the 8th century, doubtless more precisely to the first half of that century, and perhaps to around the year 700.

That author, who is presented by Tibetan historians as a commentator on the *Pramāṇavārttika*, is named by the colophons of the translations *'Dul-ba 'jin-pa slob-dpon Dul-ba'i lha* (Vinayadharācārya Vinītadeva) : indeed, his commentaries on logic constitute the part of his work with which Tāranātha and Gzon-nu dpal seem to him to be the most acquainted; Vinītadeva is then also a specialist in disciplinary problems, and his is known to modern authors by this double title.

He also indicated two pieces of the *Abhidharma*, which upto the present have scarcely benefitted from the attention of Indianists, but they indeed place him among the posterity of the Saṅghadāsa and of the Sthiramati :

—the *Prakaraṇaviṃśakaṭīkā* (*Mdo*, LVIII, II) (63 p.);
—and the *Triṃśakaṭīkā* commentary on some thirty of the *kārikā* of Vasubandhu (*Mdo*, LXI, 1) (137 p.).

The texts of *vinaya* of which he is author are :

—a *Padavyākhyāna* of the *Vinayastotra* of Dharmaśreṣṭhin (*Mdo*, LXXVIII, 5) and (XC, 10) (19 p.);
—a summary of the *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* of Vasumitra (*Mdo*, XC, 13) (3 p.), another famous Kaśmīri; a piece of work concerning the sects of Buddhism, and which furnished several precious indications to A. Bareau. (*Les sectes bouddhiques du petit Véhicule*, Paris, 1955)[86];

86. The *Samayabhedoparacanacakra nikāyabhedopadarśanasaṃgraha* has been translated by A. BAREAU (*Le compendium descriptif des divisions des sectes dans le cycle de le formation des schismes*) and also the *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* of VASUMITRA, Trois traités sur les sectes bouddhiques, *J.A.*, t. CCXLII and CCXLIV, Paris 1954 and 1956). Previously, Teramoto Enga and Hiramatsu Tomotsugu had presented a critical edition of those texts, preceded by an introduction in Japanese (Kyoto 1935).

—a literal commentary on the *Vinayavibhaṅga* (classed at the *bka'-'gyur* in the 'Dul-ba), which, in Tibetan translation, occupies a whole volume (*Mdo*, LXXX) (501 p.).

His writings on logic are the most numerous :

—a *ṭīkā* in 1030 *śloka* of the *Nyāyabindu* of Dharmakīrti (*Mdo*, CXI, 1) (85 p.), translated into Tibetan since the commencement of the 9th century by Jinamitra and Ye-śes-sde, and which is perhaps the first text of logic introduced in Tibet;[87]

—a *ṭīkā* of the *Hetubindu* of Dharmakīrti (*Mdo*, CXI, 5) (200 p.);

—a *ṭīkā* of the *Saṃbandhaparīkṣāprakaraṇa* of Dharmakīrti (*Mdo*, XCII, I) (52 p.);

—a *ṭīkā* of the *Vādanyāya* of Dharmakīrti (*Mdo*, CXII, 3) (54 p.);

—a *Padamātravārttika* of the *Tantrāntarasiddhiprakaraṇa* or *Santānāntarisiddhiprakaraṇa* of Dharmakīrti (*Mdo*, CVIII, I) (41 p.);

—a *ṭīkā* of the *Alambanaparīkṣā* of Diṅnāga (*Mdo*, CXII, 5) (29 p.).

In the second half of the 8th century occurs an event which Kalhaṇa celebrates in these terms : "(The king Jayāpīḍa-751-782) saw, during a splendid dream, a sun rise at the west and he understood that an excellent doctor of the Law had arrived in the country".[88] Kalhaṇa plays on the name of Dharmottarācārya, which can signify an "eminent doctor of the Law" and even perhaps an "eminent Buddhist teacher", if one be permitted to give to *dharma* the meaning of Buddhism, which does

87. That commentary on the *Nyāyabindu* has been published in Tibetan translation by LA VALLEE POUSSIN in the *Bibliotheca Indica* in 1907.

88. *R.T.*, IV, 498. Here is the text of that *śloka* : *Susvapne paścimāśāyāṃ lakṣayannudayaṃ raveḥ deśe dharmottarācāryaṃ praviṣṭaṃ sādhvamanyata*, and here is M.A. Stein's translation : "When he saw and in his (lecture : sa svapne) the sun rise in the west, he thought that (some) exalted teacher of the law had luckily entered his land." Sir Marc Aurel has not recognised in Dharmottarācārya a proper noun, nor has Schiefner in Chos-mchog (p. 248 of his translation, corrected in the note, p. 330). It is Th. Stcherbatsky who, first under stood the meaning of the *śloka*.

not seem excessive in such a context; the word *dharma*, like the word *chos* in Tibetan, does it not mean "the order of things" which have been revealed by the Buddha, comprehension of which constitutes the chief point of Buddhist doctrine, and definitely what we inaccurately call the religion ?

Tāranātha does not call attention to the coming of that logician with the same emphasis as Kalhaṇa, and he gives very little information about this master who would have lived during the reign of Mahīpāla and would be the disciple of Dharmākaradatta,[89] also a dialectician and Kaśmīri, contemporary of Siṃhabhadra and of Padmākara.[90]

The writings of Dharmakīrti commented on by Dharmottara are the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and, once again, the *Nyāyabindu*. The most ancient works of logic attested in Kaśmīr are not the most important and most voluminous texts of the school, those which will later be the most often commented on the *kārikā* of Dharmakīrti and their *vṛtti*, commenced, recording to tradition, by Dharmakīrti himself and finished by his direct disciple Devendrabodhi. But the *ṭīkā* of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, which Dharmottara edited, is a considerable piece of work, in 12,463 *śloka* (1111 p. in Tibetan translation) (*Mdo*, CIX-CX, 1) and his *ṭīkā* of the *Nyāyabindu*, in which he criticises Vinītadeva, sometimes with severity, although shorter, still counts 1477 *śloka* (*Mdo*, CXI, 2) (139 p.).[91] According to Stcherbatsky, those works inaugurate the "critical" tendency or "philosophical" interpretation of Dharmakīrti, who considers the Buddha as a "metaphysical entity".[92]

89. *T.N.*, p. 225.
90. *T.N.*, p. 219. Let us add that, according to S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Dharmottara has been quoted by the Jain authors Mallavādin and Ratnaprabhāsuri.
91. PETERSON published the Sanskrit text of it in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, discovered in the Jain temple of Śāntinātha, and Th. STCHERBATSKY published in Sanskrit (*B.B.*, VII) in Tibetan (*B.B.*, VIII) and translated (*Buddhist Logic*, II) that work of DHARMOTTARA OBERMILLER prepared from it a precious Tibetan-Sanskrit and Sanskrit-Tibetan index. (*B.B.*, XXIV-XXV).
92. *Buddhist Logic*, p. 41.

The other writings of Dharmottara are :

— the *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi* (*Mdo*, CXII, 17) (21 p.) demonstration of the discontinuity of instants", which makes use of Dharmakīrti's teaching and which is the object of a commentary by the brahmin Mu-tig bum-pa (Muktākalaśa) (*Mdo*, CXII, 18);
— the two *Pramāṇaparīkṣa* (*Mdo*, CXII, 12) (47 p.) and (*Mdo*, CXII, 13) (32 p.), "examination of the *pramāṇa*";
— the *Apohaprakaraṇa* (*Mdo*, CXII, 14) (24 p.), "treatise on exclusion (of contradictory proposition)";
— and, finally, the *Paralokasiddhi* (*Mdo*, CXII, 15) (7 p.) "demonstration concerning the other world".[93]

These titles show the variety and interest of the subjects treated by Dharmottarācārya. Moreover, if one takes count of the qualities that his editors and translators agree to recognise in Vinītadeva[94] and the originality of the interpretations, which prove the divergences of opinion between Vinītadeva and Dharmottara,[95] one will deem that the beginnings of logic in Kaśmīr—far from being simple stammerings—are distinguished by subtlety of thought and gravity of problem attacked.

THE CULT OF TĀRĀ

The cult of the Tārā, and, later, of several Tārā, which in Kaśmīr counted some fervent adepts, appears in Buddhist literature with Candragomin, presumed author of the *Tārāsādha-*

93. This last work has been translated by G. ROERICH in *Indian Culture*, 15, 1948-49, pp. 213-222. From a very individual angle, he deals with the problem, so important to Buddhists, of the flow of conscience. The author endeavours to establish that the *paraloka* (*'jig-rten pha-rol*) that is to say the world which follows death and precedes birth, is not characterised by interruption of the *vijñānasantana*.

94. In particular, Susumu YAMAGUCHI and Henriette MEYER (*J.A.*, 1929) praise the clearness of the commentary of Vinītadeva "great teacher of the Vijñaptimātratā and of the Nyāya", to the *Alaṃbanaparīkṣā* and contrast it with that of Dharmapāla "too prolix at the beginning and incomplete at the end".

95. These divergences in interpretation of certain points of *Nyāyabindu* have been pointed out by STCHERBATSKY, *Buddhist Logic*.

naśataka, but, from the 8th century,[96] two famous Kaśmīris have edited hymns in praise of the "Crossing over", of the "Star", feminine essence of the Bodhisattva.

Ravigupta or Sūryagupta (Ñi-ma sbas-pa)[97] indeed belongs to the 8th century if he is, as Tāranātha affirms, the immediate master of Sarvajñamitra. He is the hero of a legend which Gzon-nu dpal relates to us in these terms :[98]

"It is said that in the country of Kaśmīra there had been an image of the Ta'u Tārā endowed with miraculous powers (siddhi) in the Temple of Raṅ-byuṅ lha-lṅa. Lepers after worshipping the image were cured of their ailments. About that time the ācārya Ravigupta (Ñi-wa sbas-pa), who was learned in the five sciences and especially in the Tantra, was attacked by leprosy (klu'i gnod-pa). He built a hut for himself to the west of the vihāra, and prayed for three months. Then the temple's gate moved (by itself) westwards, and the Tārā said : "What is your wish ?", and the ācārya replied : "I wish to be cured of leprosy." In that very moment his entire body, except for a small sore on his forehead, assumed its former appearance.[99] He asked : "What was the reason for not

96. Let us remember that in 8th century, (in 778), Mahārāja Panangkaran founded in Java a sanctuary dedicated to Tārā, which is the Chandi Kalasan (G. COEDES : *Les Etats hindouises d'Indochine et d' Indonesie*, p. 154).

    Previously, Hiouan-ts'ang was already mentioning statues of Tārā in Magadha and also in the Virājakṣetra, in Bhauma territory (LA VALLEE POUSSIN : *Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde*, p. 96 n.).

97. *T.N.*, p. 130; p. *S.J.Z.*, XLIV. Two personages bear this name—the worshipper of Tārā and the logician, who lived very probably in the 10th century and who doubtless is not Kaśmīri (*Cf.* below, pp. 125-126). Tāranātha makes correctly the destination between the dialectician Ñi-ma-sbas, who lived in the time of Caṇaka (p. 243) and the teacher of Sarvajñamitra (p. 170) "*bhikṣu*, expert in magic, who invoked Tārā". That hononym is the origin of some confusion. In the present case, S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa was wrong to disregard Tāranātha and make of Ravigupta the first great Kaśmīri logician of the 8th century.

98. *B.A.*, 1050-1051.

99. The recovery from leprosy here attributed to Tārā, appears elsewhere as a solar privilege. Thus, in chapter 139 of the *Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa*. Sāmba was cured of leprosy by the Sun, and it is on that occasion that he makes come from Śakadvīpa families of *maga*. Mayūra, protégé of Harṣa of Kanauj, composed a hymn to the Sun of 100 strophes in *sragdharā* meters, which entitled him to becured

(*Contd.*)

curing the sore on the forehead?" The Tārā replied: "Formerly you were born as a hunter, killed animals and in the end set fire to a forest. In consequence of this, you were reborn in Hell and this is your last rebirth of the 500 rebirths in Hell",[100] and saying so, she bestowed on him the sādhana, accompanied by a stotra (which was recited as mantra). The Tārā said: "With their help, one may perform any kind of magic rite. I shall grant you miraculous powers (siddhi)." After that the ācārya composed a magic rite which corresponded to the twenty-one sādhanas,[101] as well as general rites and their branches".

The texts to which Gzon-nu dpal makes allusion figure, in fact, in the *Bstan-'gyur*:[102]

of leprosy. The Sun cult was then widespread in Kaśmīr as Ravigupta lived very close to the time when Lalitāditya was creating the solar temple of Mārtāṇḍa. One can think of concurrence between the two cults. It is also curious to state that our Buddhist, worshipper of Tārā, goes by the name of Ravigupta, which means "protected by the Sun".

100. We do not think that Roerich's translation is perfectly accurate. *Klu'i gnod-pa* perhaps does not refer to leprosy, at least in the strict meaning of the word in modern medicine. On the contrary, the Tibetan expression can render the Sanskrit *visarpa*, which denotes a disease in which Jean Filliozat recognised spreading erysipelas. In fact, the *Hārītasaṃhitā* tells us that "he who sets fire to a forest becomes smitten by that malady"; (II, 1-20) (J. Filliozat, Un chapitre de la Hārītasaṃhitā sur la rétribution des actes, *J.A.*, t. CCXXV, Paris, 1934). On the other hand, the enlikening of an incurable disease to infernal punishment, curious as it may seem, is justified by the same text: "all the disease, whether they be curable or not, are in truth, forms of hell" (*narakarūpa*) (II, 1-4).

Let us also note a strange divergence. The Mussulmans have equally imagined some temporary infernal punishments and the *Dialogue* of Abdallāh ibn Salām tells us that "the temporarily condemned is marked by a spot on the forehead. Liberated, he is first washed by the angels, but the spot does not vanish and marks him as an old reprobate" (quoted by Maxime RODINSON in his article Dante et l' Islam d'après les travaux récents, *R.H.R.*, t. 140, 1951, p. 218.). Evidently that comparison does not permit us to reach any conclusion of whatever influence.

101. There again, we respect Roerich's translation but it is evidently necessary to understand: "in the *sādhana* of twenty-one stanzas". That text has been edited by BLONAY, Matériaux,...pp. 58-60.

102. The other works of Ravigupta incorporated in the Tibetan canon are:

(*Contd.*)

—*Tārādevīstotra ekaviṃśatikasādhana*. (*Rg.*, XXVI, 3) (9 p.);
—*Āryatārābhaṭṭārikāsādhana sakalpaikaviṃśakakarmasaṃkṣepa* (*Rg.*, XXVI, 4) (34 p.);
—*Bhagavatītārādevyakaviṃśatistotropayikā* (*Rg.*, XXVI, 6) (22 p.);
—*Devītāraikaviṃśatistotraviśuddhacūḍāmaṇi* (*Rg.*, XXVI, 7) (9 p.).

The *Blue Annals* present a transmission of the ritual established by Ravigupta. The first to revive it would have been Candragarbha, who would himself have taught it to Jetāri. Afterwards comes Vāgīśvara, then two collaborators of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po, Śraddhākara and Tathāgatarakṣita, finally a certain Dānaśīla and the *lo-cā-ba* of Mal-gyo, that is to say, Blo-gros grags-pa who translated the *Tārāstotra* and the *Karmasaṃkṣepa* in collaboration with a paṇḍit named Mañjuśrī. The presence, in that succession, of two collaborators of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po, one of which is surely and the other probably Kaśmīri, permits one to suppose with some probability that this ritual, which from certain of its characters appears like a prefiguration of the *Zi-byed*, was preserved at least until about the year 1000 in the country where it took birth.

Another Kaśmīri worshipper of the Tārā, younger by some decades, does not figure in that succession and represents a different tendency. Sarvajñamitra is one of the rare Buddhist teachers mentioned by Kalhaṇa, who names him with regard to the Kayyavihāra founded under Lalitāditya by Kayya, king of Lāṭa : it is there, he tells us, that "later resided the *bhiksu* Sarvajñamitra who set himself up as another Jina".[103]

The *Āryatārābhaṭṭārikānāma dvatriṃśatkastotra sarvārthasādhakaratnālaṅkaraṃnisha* (*Rg.*, LXXXII, 51) (6 p.);
the *Āryatārāstotra* (*Rg.*, XXVI, 8) (3 p.);
the *Tārāsādhanopadeśakrama* (*Rg.*, XXVI, 5) (2 p.)

All these writings concern the cult of Tārā.

An *Āryakośa* and the *Vaidyakasiddhasāra* are attributed to an undetermined Ravigupta, who perhaps is neither the logician nor the worshipper of Tārā.

103. *R.T.*, IV, 210.

The commentator of his *Sragdhārāstotra,* named Jinaraksita tells us of a fabulous biography beloved by Tāranātha[104] and by Gzon-nu dpal. Here is the commencement of that biography :

"Here, in the country of Kaśmīr, was to be found he who holds the place of a Bodhisattva, moistened by the water of the compassion of instruction, the Indra of the *muni,* he who has spirit and heart rendered superior by a great mercy, and who has the name Sarvajñamitra, the *bhikṣu;* the latter, similar to a magic gem through the fact that he procured for the poor all the objects of their desires, was famous throughout the world for his generosity.[105]

The tale which follows hardly needs to be recapitulated. Son of a king of Kaśmīr, he used to distribute all his goods among the poor. Having reached the country of king Vajramukuṭa, he met a brahmin, completely destitute, who had placed all his hope in Sarvajñamitra's generosity. Having nothing left to give to the old man and not wishing to deceive him, Sarvajña sold his own body to the king who was needing 100 men to accomplish a human sacrifice. The hundred being complete, Sarvajña, in order to save his companions, had recourse to the holy Tārā. The intervention of the Divine mother saved them in fact, and each found himself again in his own land : in their place, the guards found only the gold which had served at the purchase of the victims. The king, converted, became a disciple of the Kaśmīri. The name of Vajramukuṭa is a synonym of Vajrāpīḍa, but we do not think, as suggests Blonay, that the legend alludes to Vajrāditya, a wicked king with cruel habits, all the more so as tradition specifies that Vajramukuṭa used to rule over a foreign country. On the contrary, it is not impossible that the deportation of Kaśmīri slaves, to which the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* alludes [106] may have contributed to the composition of the legend.

104. *T.N.*, pp. 168-170.

105. Godefroy de BLONAY, *Matériaux pour servir ā l'étude de la déesse bouddhique Tārā*, Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Sciences philologiques et historiques, fasc-107, in 8°, XV-65 p., Paris, 1895, p. 32.

106. *R.T.*, IV, 397.

The *Sādhanamālā* presents the same tradition in more sober form. Here is the summary given by B. Bhattacharyya (who dates Sarvajañamitra at round 1050, without trying to justify that date) :

"It is stated in the Sādhanamālā that Sarvajñamitra when once in great difficulty wanted death to overtake him and addressed his last prayer to his favourite goddess Tārā with his face upwards and a garland in his hands, Sragdharā miraculously appeared before him." (p. CXVIII).

Finally, Tāranātha claims to know a longer version.

Sarvjñamitra, son of a king of Kaśmīr, would have been carried away by a vulture, while the female members of his family were gathering flowers, and he was transported to a peak of Mount Gandhola. He was received by some paṇḍits and became a monk. Fervent worshipper of Tārā, he distributed to the poor the enormous riches he had received due to the protection of the goddess; then, completely destitute, he directed his steps towards the south. On the way he met a blind brahmin, led by a child, who was making his way to Nālandā precisely in order to implore aid from Sarvajñamitra, whose reputation for generosity had reached him. When Sarvajñamitra had told him who he was and how he had already exhausted his fortune, the brahmin collapsed in such distress that the master decided to find the money by any means whatever. Now a certain king Saraṇa, "passionately attached to false doctrines", was wanting to sacrifice 108 men by fire, so as to obtain supernatural strength. Sarvajñamitra sold himself to the king for his own weight in gold and thus was completed to 108 the number of the victims. The tender-hearted Sarvajñamitra could not see without being touched the despair of his companions in misfortune, desolated by a generosity which was rendering their death imminent, and as a last extremity he invoked Tārā. The later intervened by causing to fall upon the surface of the pyre a downpour of rain which extinguished the fire and made a lake rise in its place. The king, filled with admiration, liberated the prisoners, after having loaded them with presents. But Sarvajñamitra was languishing for his homeland. The Tārā then appeared to him, requested him to catch hold of her garment and close his eyes. When he reopened them, he found himself in a region he did not recognise and in front of a large palace. He asked the goddess why she had not led him to Nālandā, but she replied that there where he stood was his real fatherland; and in that place he founded a temple to Tārā. (*T.N.*, pp. 168-170).

It is curious to note that Tāranātha carried to 108 the number of the victims, thus giving to that macabre ceremony an Indian stamp which is not found in the account by Jinarakṣita.

In this case it is interesting to lay out for comparison the several versions of the legend : this example confirms that the "biographies" (*rnam-thar*) of the Indian master-teachers, such as they appear in Tibetan sources, are the result of successive amplifications of which the initial stages, or even the first phases, were Indian.

Sarvajñamitra is the author of the *Sragdharāstotra*,[107] text of which the *bstan-'gyur* gives three translations and whose prestige was considerable (*Rg*., XXVI, 10, 11, 12) (each translation occupies 9 p.)[108]. The other texts attributed to Sarvajñamitra are :

—*Devītārākuvākyādhyesana nāma stotra* (*Rg*., XXVI, 13) (2 p.);
—*Āryatārāsādhana* (*Rg*., XXVI, 40) (2 p.);
—*Aṣṭabhayatranatārosādhana* (*Rg* , LXXI, 379) (5 p.).

All these pieces of work are consecrated to the goddess Tārā.

Sarvajñamitra is however known by other titles, and we rediscover him far from his two countries, Kaśmīr and Nālandā, at Lhasa, where he worked close to other Kaśhmīris : it is indeed that last phase of his career which permits us to fix his date with certitude and, as a repercussion, that of his teacher Ravigupta.

In fact, convincing as may be those proofs of the vitality of Buddhism in the upper valley of the Vitastā, the work accomplished by Kaśmīris in the service of the Law is not limited to those works of which one has just taken brief cognizance. To be content with that would be to give only a very one-sided idea of Indian Buddhism in the 8th century. That is why, for the purpose of enlarging our view point, it is necessary to absent ourselves from the geographical centre of our study in two very unequal stages : the first will lead us to one of the

107. Mayūra's hymn to the Sun is, like Sarvajñamitra's *stotra*, a *sragdharāśataka* but the title of the Buddhist work encloses a *śleṣa* : Sragdharā, "the garland-bringer" is one of the names of Tārā.

108. This *stotra* has been edited (pp. 34-40) and translated (pp. 41-47) by BLONAY.

"portals" of Kaśmīr, to Taxila, where preach masters whose precepts cannot leave the Kaśmīri monks indifferent, the second stage will carry us very much further—into the homeland of Thon-mi Sambhoṭa—because Indian missionaries are in their turn setting out on the perilous paths travelled one century earlier by Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po's minister.

3

From Kaśmīri Gateways to Tibet

The upheavals which, in those 8th and 9th centuries, affect Buddhism on the dual plane of doctrine and of discipline are not of less importance then the political seisms which disturb its geographical expansion. Several authors, studying Buddhism in a Tibetan perspective, have wished to connect its evolution with contemporary historical events and have attributed to it the intrusion of foreign elements come from the west of India, across regions over which the conqnests of Lalitāditya were extending the direct influence of Kaśmīr.

To tell the truth, documentation is strangely lacking for study of the strictly historic aspect of that problem. Indices disclosing the direct role of Kaśmīr are rare, fragile, subject to caution, but this is perhaps one more reason for examining them with the greatest care, because the history of that epoch, especially the religious history, admits of gaps too grave for one to be content to take account of certain elements only; that would be, under pretext of scientific scruples, to present a picture radically false : and it would not explain how Kaśmīri Buddhism, such as it appears at the end of the 10th century, offers a face so different from what it was at the close of the 8th century.

Currently that metamorphosis is presented as a generalisation of what is called "Tantrism" and which we prefer to name the Mantrayāna. Abandoning its life up to that point clandestine, that mysterious movement would have irrupted in the

monasteries, and a mentality which it is too easy to call "magic"—but which assuredly was it at a certain psychological level—would have threatened to alter the essentially moral principles of the Buddhist "way". It is that transformation which it is fitting to try to understand, without losing sight of Kaśmīr, as much in India as in Tibet, where, at the same epoch, monks of the antique school of the Vibhāṣā are working, with admirable zeal, at an immense task—which is the constitution of a canon in the Tibetan language.

The cycle of the Guhyasamāja, of Cakrasaṃvara and of Hevajra, related through a certain number of common characteristics, appear during that epoch[1]. They superimpose over the Bodhisattva and the Buddha, become too numerous, an entity which, even if it does not offer all the characteristics of a supreme divinity, supplies in certain measure the psychological exigency of a divine personality, plays that role for the faithful, and which (whether one calls it Śaṃvara, Hevajra or Heruka) is, in that group of *tantra* a manifestation of Akṣobhya. The concept of a *Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittavajrādhipati*,[2] on which one does not perhaps yet confer the title of Ādibuddha, but only that of Bhagavant, establishes in the religion of the *nāstika* a sort of monotheism.

1. That datation, although controversial, seems the most probable. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya attributed the *Guhyasamāja*, if not to Asaṅga who lived according to him in the 3rd century, at least to his era. A. Mac Donald indeed presented some of the criticism to which that thesis is exposed in her introduction to the *Maṇḍala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (pp. 10 to 14). Giusepe TUCCI, speaking of Indrabhūti, writes this : "The *Guhyasamāja* was elaborated in the Swat valley, in or about the epoch of this personage, which seems to be, more or less, the end of the VIIth and the beginning of the VIIIth century A.D." (*Tibetan painted scrolls*, p. 213). P. Ch. BAGCHI thinks that the *Hevajratantra* was published in the 7th or 8th century (*Studies in the Tantras*, p. 28) and this is at an analogous date at which D.L. Snellgrove arrives through a different argumentation. Let us recognise that the arguments invoked in order to justify that chronology are not all of equal value; certain can assuredly be proved false, but, from whichever angle one approaches the problem, all lead us to the end of the 7th and to the 8th century.
2. CANDRAKĪRTI, *Pradīpoddyotana* commentary on the *Guhyasamājatantra* quoted by TUCCI, *M.C.B.*, III, p. 340.

On the other hand, they commend an ascesis of "purification" of body, of word and of thought, which is called the *pañcakrama* (*rim-lṅa*) and which is the regroupment of methods in part already known.[3] Let us recall which are those "five stages" often named, enumerated more rarely :

1st degree : purification of the body (*kāyaviśuddhi*) or solitude of the body (*lus-dben*);

2nd degree : purification of the word (*vāgviśuddhi*) or solitude of the word (*ṅag-dben*);

3rd degree : purification of thought (*cittaviśuddhi*) or solitude of thought (*sems-dben*);

4th degree : total awakening in joy (*sukhābhisambodhi*) or radiation (*'od-gsal*) (*ābhāsvara*);

5th degree : fixation of domination (*zuṅ-'jug*) (*yuganaddha*) which Roerich explains by *supreme enlightenment*, a degree characterised by absorption of the "body physical" in the "body mental".[4]

The legitimacy of those practices and the orthodoxy of the arguments by which they were justified were objects of controversy and even of dissension, occasions of serious conflict which

3. The use of magic formulas or of ejaculatory prayers of the *mantra* and *vidyādhāraṇī* type go back to the first centuries of the Christian era : some *maṇḍala* are attested in China from the 4th century. At the time of Hiouan-ts'ang, the religious of Orissa were denouncing to king Harṣa the heretical spirit of the religions of Nālandā, whom they were qualifying as *kāpalika*. The copper plaque of Nālandā from the 39th year of Devapāla, already belongs to the 9th century, and it is perhaps in that inscription that appears for the first time the word "tantric" fated to have such a vexatious annoying future : the monks of Nālandā are there named *taṃtrikabodhisattva*...if the reading proposed by Hirananda SHASTRI (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 312) is good !

4. According to ROERICH, note to the *B.A.*, p. 415, and the edition of the *Pañcakrama* of Nāgārjuna by Louis de LA VALLEE POUSSIN. Elsewhere, but in the same context, the purification of the psychosomatic entity, such as it was conceived in ancient Buddhism, is opposed to mental creation, with the aid of techniques from the Mantranaya : *kāyavākcittasaṃśuddhiḥ pāścātvā hīpajā smṛtā siddhyate mantrajā yā tu kāyavākcitta bhāvanā* (*Hevajrase prokekriyā*, L. FINOT Manuscrits..., *J.A.*, t. CCXXV, p. 27).

sometimes took a tragic character. It goes without saying that historians of Buddhism have not taken the trouble to preserve for posterity reports about those quarrels, and yet some signs of them have reached us. Tāranātha and Sum-pa mkhan-po tell us that Buddhajñānapāda,[5] when he was abbot of Nālandā and of Vikramaśīla, was violently vilipended by the monks *saindhava* of Odantapuri, according to Tāranātha, by the adepts of the Hināyāna to which had joined the brahmins *sendha-pa* according to Sum-pa mkhan-po. It was claimed that Buddhajñāna's conduct did not conform to the discipline, that he was not worthy to assume the duties of abbot, and his detractors used to speak of the *tantra* in insulting terms. At Vajrāsana, the *saindhava* and *singhala bhikṣu* destroyed the silver statue of Heruka, and the kings, who had espoused the cause of "Tantrism", had many Singalese monks massacred : proof that there is tolerance and tolerance. It is easier to respect the liberty of thought of those whom one judges to be in error than to let become adulterated and corrupt what one believes to be true.

AT TAXILA : HARIBHADRA AND HIS STUDENT BUDDHAŚRĪJÑĀNA

Projecting beyond the level of isolated practices in order to become a matter of doctrine, the Mantranaya was having to justify its principles. It did so by relying on the concepts of the Mādhyamika; therefore, by repercussion, resulted a certain deepening of Mādhyamika thought in the light of the experiences of *yogin* and of adepts of the Mantrayāna. At that task worked a pleiad of personalities, having links more or less distant with Kaśmīr, which in any case played a decisive role in that evolution of Buddhism in which Kaśmīri Buddhism participated. One of the centres of that evolution is the antique Taxila : that old university city, before collapsing under the blows of Afghan troops, rendered to the Law a last service in justifying dogmatically, in canalising, in clarifying the new tendencies which were threatening to introduce corruption into the monasteries. Now, at that epoch Taxila was still attached to the authority of Kaśmīri rulers, and that political link, even

5. *E.S.M.*, p. 93; *P.S.J.Z.*, 114 and 134.

if relatively fragile, could not fail to be favourable to natural exchanges between the Himalayan valley and the Gandhāra.

One of the most distinguished commentators of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, Haribhadra,[6] pupil of Vairocana and of Śāntirakṣita, is a native of Taxila, but he is sometimes called Kaśmīri, that is the opinion of Tāranātha in particular and that slight inexactitude is doubtless explained by the suzerainty of Kaśmīr over Taxila.

Tāranātha mentions Haribhadra (*T.N.*, 240) (in Tibetan Seṅ-ge bzaṅ-po) with reference to Ratnavajra: descedent of a long line of Śivaite brahmins, Haribhadra would have been converted to Buddhism after having been conquered in a controversy. He would be the father of Ratnavajra, himself father of Mahājana grandfather of Sajjana and great grandfather of Sūkṣamajana. Chronology renders that filiation impossible : or indeed the Haribhadra of whom Tāranātha speaks in that place is not the author of the *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka*, or again that tradition has been created with the purpose of attaching Haribhadra to a famous and well-established line of Kaśmīri brahmins.

In another place, Tāranātha extols the work of *ācārya* Siṃhabhadra (in Tibetan equally Seṅ-ge bzaṅ-po), great commentator of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*, who would have embraced the monastic state, since he belonged to a royal family (*T.N.* 219). Ed. Conze does not believe in the historic instance of that last-named personage, for he states : (concerning *Mdo-maṅ* 108): "Lalou has mistaken Haribhadra for Siṃhabhadra, a purely mythical person who for more than a century haunts the literature on the subject." We would say more simply that the name Haribhadra is preferable to that of Siṃhabhadra adopted by Marcelle Lalou. As to the error which denounces the Dutch specialist of literature on the *Prajñāpāramitā*, it goes back very much more than a century, as Tāranātha is already committing it.

Bu-ston, who does not mention Haribhadra's origin is in agreement with Tāranātha in order to make of him a *kṣatriya* (*B.S.*, 156), but he goes astray as far as chronology is concerned. According to Bu-ston, Haribhadra would have been invited by Mahīpāla, who must have reigned from 980 to 1023 approximately, according to the chronology presently (considered) the most probable, and who, according to Bu-ston himself, would be the grandson of Dharmapāla. On the contrary, according to Tāranātha, Haribhadra would have been held in great esteem by Dharmapāla and would have worked from the time of that king at the Trikaṭukavihāra (*T.N.* 217). Tāranātha had doubtless drawn that information from the *Abhisanayālaṅkārāloka* (*Mdo*, VI, manuscript Minaef 4096) : that piece of work have been compiled at the Trikaṭukavihāra under the patronage of Dharmapāla. It is the most trustworthy information we possess

6. BU-STON, p. 157.

on Haribhadra, because it is, by all appearances, contemporaneous with the editing of that important commentary. According to Tāranātha, Haribhadra would have died some twenty years after the coronation of Dharmapāla, who, before the 32nd year of his reign, placed Cakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj, after having dethroned Indrāyudha a little after 800 (charts of Khālimpur and Bhāgalpur : event recorded also by Tāranātha) (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, 252) (*T.N.* 117) : Haribhadra must have died some years before 800.

That teacher, renowned for his erudition in the sphere of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and of literature on the Mādhyamika,[7] and on whom are conferred the titles *mahāpaṇḍita ācārya* was favoured in a dream by an apparition of Maitreya and shown some contradictions in the commentaries of the *Prajñāpāramita.*[8] He would have prepared a new rendering of the *Prajñāpāramita* in 25,000 distichs which, according to Cordier, stray in part from the original such as it figures in the *bka'-'gur* (Conze 2 a): that monumental works, which spreads over three volumes of the *Bstan-'gyur*, counts 1119 leaves. But his most important work is the *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka*, copious commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, which in Tibetan translation occupies 425 pages (Conze 5 cy I).[9]

The most famous disciple of that great doctor, whilst spreading the teaching of his master, was one of the chief initiators of the Mantranaya and one of those whose history has not been too much invaded by legend.[10] It is a matter of the *paṇḍita*, *siddha* and *mahāyogin* Buddhajñānapāda who is at the beginning of a line of instruction of the Guhyasamāja. Buddhajñāṇa was perhaps from Taxila; in any case, it is in that

7. *T.N.*, 219; *B.A.*, 367.
8. *B.A.*, 367; *T.N.*, 219; *B.S.*, 157.
9. The other writings attributed to the same author are, compared with such monuments, small things. They also include some treatises of *Prajñāpāramitā* :
—*Prajñāpāramitāratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā* (Conze 5 A);
—a *pañjikā* of that text entitled *Subodhinī* (Conze 5 A cy I);
—the *Sphuṭārtha*, sub-comment on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (Conze AA cy 5).
10. *T.N.* 220.

city that he met Haribhadra.[11] It is permissible to suppose that the speculation on the Mantranaya, which uses the mādhyamika vocabulary, was elaborated in a milieu tired of studying the *Prajñāpāramitā*. Universal dualism, especially under its sexual aspect, expresses itself in matters of spiritual progress by opposition of the two complementary principles : the one, of active order *upāya*, attaches itself directly to what was previously called *upāyakauśalya*; the other, of order gnostic, is the knowledge of the *śūnyatā*[12] and receives specifically the name of *prajñā*.

11. "At that time there was in the Madhyadeśa, in the district of Khabi, a city named Rdo-'zog [Takṣaśilā]. There lived a brahmin, a very learned teacher. He was very attached to the doctrine of the Buddhists, he had become a monk at Nālandā in the sect of the Mahāsaṃghika and had received the name of Buddhaśrījñana..." (*E.S.M.*, p. 88.).

    "Now the ācārya Sans-rgyas ye-śes (Buddhajñāna) who was a paṇḍita learned in all the branches of knowledge. One day he pleased in the city of Takṣaśila, in the country called Kha-bi, which formed part of Magadha, an ācārya known as Haribhadra (Seṅ-ge bzaṅ-po), whowas a great scholar in the Prajñaparamitā system" (*B.A.*, p. 367).

    Taxila in Kapiśa, which forms part of the Magadha : such an affirmation, from the pen of a scholar of the class of Gzon-nu dpal, is not done to increase our confidence in the topographical indications of Tibetan sources.

12. This coupling appears already, in a slightly different manner, in a Sogdian fragment of the British Museum translated by Benveniste : "Science is the mother of the *bodhisattva* and cleverness of methods is the father of masters who teach the whole assembly" (*J.R.A.S.* 1933). The word "science" corresponds to the sanskrit *prajñā* and "cleverness of methods" to *upāya-kauśalya*. The interest of this passage is in showing that the word *upāya*, vocabulary of the Mantranaya, was used at least originally, for *upāyakauśalya*, and above all to make very evident the sentiment of a spiritual generation (this is, in new terms, the old metaphor of the word *dvija*) which is present in the sexual symbolism of Tantrism. We do not think it has already been remarked that Manicheism adopted that duality, stripping it of all sexual allusion. However it appears again (after how many translations) in the version that Sachau made of al-Bīrūnī. The eminent Arab historian quotes a passage from the *Shābūrkān* (al-Bīrūnī's spelling) of which here is the translation : "Wisdom and deeds have always from time to time been brought to mankind by the messengers of God" (*The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, London, 1879, in 8°, XVI-464 p., p. 190).

NĀTHA NĀGĀRJUNA AND ŚĀKYAMITRA

One distinguishes currently two lines of transmission of the Guhyasamāja : that of the school of Jñānapāda, that is to say Buddhaśrījñāna, and that of Nātha Nāgārjuna.

This is what it is evident in the index of the *Bstan-'gyur* worked out by Tāranātha and which fills volume *co* of the *Mdo-'grel*: the *le'u* 10 of the second chapter (*skabs*) of that index, devoted to the cycle of the Guhyasamāja *(Gsaṅ-ba'dus-pa'i skor)* comprises eight sections, the first of which is entitled *'phags-skor (Āryacakra)* or *Mgon-po Klu-sgrub-kyi rjes-sn'braṅ-ba'i skor* : "cycle of the school of Nātha Nāgārjuna"; the second includes the *sādhana*, *maṇḍalavidhi* etc., attaching themselves to that teaching; the third is dedicated to the "commentaries arising from the school of Jñānapāda" (*Yes-śes zabs-kyi rjes-su 'braṅ-ba*); the fourth and fifth to the *sādhana, maṇḍalavidhi* etc., linking themselves to the precepts of that latter master; the three other sections group the instructions of three other commentators, Vajrahasa, Bhadrapāda and Ānandagarbha.

There we have a delicate problem, which, however, we cannot avoid : that of a hypothetical mediaeval Nāgārjuna. Al-Bīrūnī, speaking of alchemy in India, points out that, nearly one century before the epoch in which he writes, there lived an alchemist named Nāgārjuna "They have a science similar to alchemy and quite peculiar to them : they call it *rasāyana*, a word composed on *rasa*, that is to say, gold...a famous representative of that nut was Nāgārjuna, born at Fort Daihak, close to Somnāth. He used to excel in that art and compiled a book which contains the essence of all the literature on that subject and is very rare. He lived about 100 years before our epoch".[13] Most assuredly, the subtle Mādhyamika philosopher, rememberance of whom is linked to the region of Amarāvatī and of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, a Dravidian word meaning "the hill of Nāgārjuna," was already occupying himself with alchemy.[14] But

13. Chap. XVII, t. I, pp. 188-198 of the English translation, London, Trübner's Oriental Series, 1910.

14. On this subject S. Lévi quotes a text from the *Rasopaniṣad* (Un nouveau document sur le bouddhisme de basse époque dans l'Inde, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, VI, 1930-1931, pp. 417- 429, 421). See also *L'Inde Classique*, t. II, pp. 377-378.

that does not exclude the possibility that another Nāgārjuna, living in the 9th century, has been able to do as much. Quite the contrary, one has noted that certain monks were adopting as "patron" one of their predecessors renowned in the discipline in which they were interesting themselves.

Moreover, souvenir exist of the sejourn in Kaśmīr of a Nāgārjuna : Kalhaṇa points out that the great Nāgārjuna lived at the Ṣaḍarhadvana,[15] site identified by a comment with Hārvan, where have been discovered some Buddhist remains which are attributed to the 8th century, in our opinion without explicit proof but also without unlikelihood.[16] It is not impossible that the chronicler, writing in the 12th century, has confused a Nāgārjuna older by three centuries, who was able to work at the Ṣaḍarhadvana, without necessarily being of Kaśmīri origin, with the great Nāgārjuna, who undoubtedly never lived in Kaśmīr nor at Somnāth, and has replaced him chronologically at the epoch when actually lived that latter (under Huṣka, Juṣka, and Kaniṣka). It is not then prohibitive to suppose that an alchemist of the 9th century, approximately contemporaneous with Buddhajñānapāda, has taken the name of Nāgārjuna and installed himself at the side of Dal lake : hypothesis which has the advantage of reconciling a certain amount of data, but of which at the very instant one suggests it, it is fitting to underline the extreme fragility.

Among the works attributed to that Nāgārjuna, the best known and perhaps the most important, is the *Pañcakrama* that E. Burnouf was already presenting in 1876; nevertheless the attribution of that text is doubtful : at the end of a chapter there is question of a certain Śākyamitra, about whom Burnouf was wondering if he were not the same as Nāgārjuna.[17] Since then, Louis de La Vallée Poussin has taken up this problem and has suggested that Śākyamitra could have been "definitive writer of the book" according to the instruction of Nāgārjuna.[18] Tāranātha names Mahāśākyamitra (Śākya-bśes-gñen-

15. *R.T.*, I, 173.
16. See above, p. 60 and Daya Ram SAHNI, *A.S.I.*, *A.R. for 1915-1916*; Ram Chandra KAK, *A.M.K.*
17. E. BURNOUF, *Introduction ā l'histoiredu bouddhisme indien*, p. 490.
18. *Actes du Xe Congrès des Orientalistes* et Université de Gand, Recueil (*Contd.*)

chen-po),[19] disciple of Nāgārjuna the Great, but he claims to be ignorant of it all Bu-ston gives some complementary data : the secular name of Śākyamitra[20] was Suśakti or Śrīmant, and he was son of Udayana or Āntivāhana or Jetaka. But, in another passage of his book, Tāranātha furnishes certain biographical indications about another Śākyamitra, whose date corresponds this time approximately with that on which the *Pañcakrama* could have been edited.[21] Native of Kośala and disciple of the *ācārya* Śākyaprabha, that master-teacher would have written a commentary to the *Tattvasaṃgraha* known under the name of *Kośalālaṅkāra* (*Rg.*, L-LI, 1) (1035 p.), before betaking himself to Kaśmīr where he settled towards the end of his life.

Would that be he who received the name of Nāgārjuna and perhaps of Nāgabodhi, if, as pretends the colophon of the *Nīlāmbaradharavajrapāṇisādhanopayikāṭīkā* "*ācārya* Nāgārjuna is a synonym of Klu-sgrub-sñiṅ-po (Nāgārjunagarbha) and also of Klui-byaṅ-chub (Nāgabodhi)" ? Unless his teacher (Śākyaprabha ?), having taken the name of Nāgārjuna, Śākyamitra has quite naturally received that of Nāgabodhi, without forgetting that, in the Buddhist perspective, master and disciple could very well have been considering themselves as reincarnations of their illustrious predecessors.

Now, the commentary on the *Śivasūtra* attributed to Kṣemarāja refers from the beginning to Nāgabodhi; it would be in order to fight against the teaching of Nāgabodhi and some other Buddhist *siddha* that Śiva would have revealed to Vasugupta the *Śivasūtra*. Pandey, author of a piece of writing on Abhinavagupta, which adds credence to the sojourn of Nāgārjuna in Kaśmīr, quotes the initial *śloka* of the *vārtika* of the *Śivasūtra*. :[22]

Nāgabodhyādibhiḥ siddhair nāstikānam puraḥsaraiḥ
ākrānte jīvalokesmin nātmeśvaranirāsakaiḥ.

"in this world of the living, in which were ruling severely the *siddha*

de travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 16e fasc., Ghent and Louvain, 1896. La Vallée Poussin thinks that Śākyamitra lived about the middle of the 9th century. According to us, the *Pañcakrama* is at least two centuries before that date. See also *L'Inde Classique*, II, p. 384, where this problem is discussed : J. Filliozat places Śākyamitra "towards 850".

19. *T.N.*, p. 88.
20. BU-STON, f. 110 sq.
21. *T.N.*, p. 213.
22. K.C. PANDEY, *Abhinavagupta*, Banaras, 1935, p. 86.

of the nihilists who preceded him, Nāgabodhi etc., who denie the *ātman* and the Lord..."

Most assuredly, the passage is not as clear as we would desire it, and the word *puraḥsara* lacks precision ("who have immediately preceded Vasugupta" or "from ancient times"?) and his major interest is to express in his own terms what one otherwise guesses : it is starting from *śūnyavādin* Buddhism that the speculation of the *trika* was worked out. But why name Nāgabodhi in preference to his more famous master, if it is not because Nāgabodhi taught in Kaśmīr, just before Vasugupta preached the *trika*?[23]

Tāranātha considers, so it seems, that Nāgabodhi lived during the Middle Ages, since he supposes that the *paṇḍita* Rāhula met Nāgabodhi "*at the time of Devapāla*",[24] unless he were simply "manifested" : pure "hoax" as that which presides at the apocalypse of so many apocrypha.

Such are the papers which one can bring to the dossier of a mediaeval Nāgārjuna. It is necessary to recognise that all this constitutes an ensemble very tenuous; but finally it was necessary to regroup that data, as only this would permit one to judge the problem as a whole, its importance and its complexity, and so prevent sketchy and hasty conclusions.

PROBLEMS OF DATATION

One would wish to be able to evade the diverse enigmas proposed by origins of the movement known by the name of "Tantrism", in particular the tangle of the chronology. All the more important than to make the point, with maximum brevity and clarity, that the subject is complex and confused. In its first appearances the Mantranaya was presenting itself as an ensemble of esoteric precepts, handed on from master to disciple under seal of secrecy. Its chronology is thus that of the masters inheritors of revelations whose origin went back to some apparitions of Bodhisattva or of diverse divinities such as Vajravārāhī. The piece of writing in which Tāranātha strives to retrace the filiations of teachers of the Mantranaya, *The mine of precious stones*, bears specifically as a subtitle "Book

23. According to the *Blue Annals*, p. 361, Nāgabodhi would be the teacher of Tilopā, himself teacher of Nāropā : there is something which would link strictly with Kaśmīr the evolution which leads from the Guhyasamāja to the Kālacakra.
24. *T.N.*, p. 216 (see also Panel II).

of the trustees of the seven revelations" (or according to Grünwedel's translations—"Das Buch der Vermittlern der sieben Inspirationen"). Now, for certain reasons easy to guess, but which Tāranātha summarises very well, that chronology of the master-teachers is very mysterious : "As, in early times, those men were very carefully guarding the secret, no-one knew they were practising the *mantra*, until they were in possession of magic powers. It was only when they were having those powers of travelling in space or rendering themselves invisible that it was deduced therefrom that they were adepts of the *mantra*. In consideration of this, there were only very few filiations of traditional instruction from master-teacher to disciple. Assuredly, many studies have been consecrated to the *kriyā*-and *caryātantra* since the time when the Mahāyāna was commencing to be spread, but, as they were being practised in the greatest secrecy only those who were actually initiated to those *mantra* had knowledge of those who were practising them".[25]

Existence of a mediaeval Nāgārjuna has already been admitted, independently of the data of al-Bīrūnī, by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya who, in the introduction to his edition of the *Sādhanamālā* (Vol. II, pp. CVI to CVIII) set up a conjectural list of his writings and was proposing to date the author from about 645. That date seems all the more difficult to maintain, as the *Ekajāṭasādhana*, according to the colophony of the *sādhana* would have been brought from the home of the Tibetans or perhaps starting from Tibetan, "reconstituted" by Nāgārjuna (*āryanāgārjunapādair bhoṭeṣu uddhṛtam*) : if one accepts the first of those translations of the word *uddhṛtam* which seems the more correct, Nāgārjuna would have gone to Tibet. Be that as it may, it would ill explain the borrowing of the *Ekajāṭasādhana* from the Tibetans during the lifetime of Thon-mi Sambhoṭa.

Benoytosh Bhattacharyya was relying on two filiations, one borrowed from the catalogue of P. Cordier, the other from the *Dpag-bsam ljon-bzaṅ*.[26] Such as they are, those two

25. *T.N.*, p. 104, according to the translation of D.L. SNELLGROVE in his introduction to the *Hevajratantra*.
26. *Sādhanamālā*, pp. XL to LXII.

filiations constitute important documents which it is useful to reproduce,[27] but to abstaining from indicating the dates proposed by the Indian savant who interprets those lists in a manner quite arbitrary.[28] Laying aside the method chosen for their interpretation, the Tibetans statements themselves are

27. (1) List borrowed from the catalogue of P. CORDIER (*Rg.*, XLVI, 1 to 8):
—Padmavajra;
—Anaṅgavajra;
—Indrabhūti;
—Lakṣmīṃkarā;
—Līlāvajra;
—Dārikapā;
—Sakajayoginī Cintā;
—Dombīheruka.
(2) List borrowed from *Dpag-bsam lion-bzaṅ* and quoted previously by Kazi Dawa-Samdup in the edition of the *Cakravaṃvaratantra*:
—Saraha;
—Nāgārjuna;
—Śavarīpā;
—Lūipā;
—Vajraghaṇṭa;
—Kacchapa;
—Jālandharipā;
—Kṛṣṇācārya;
—Guhya;
—Vijayapā;
—Tailopā (or Tilipā);
—Nāropā.

28. He supposes an average difference, of age of 12 years between master and disciple, and takes as signposts Indrabhūti who was, so it is said the father of Padmasambhava (middle of 8th century) and Nāropā, whose date is well-established around the year 1000. But, as the data on the problem refuses to fit in to the frame in which one wishes to put them, it is supposed that, in one of two lists, there is a gap of 225 years:

—Saraha	...	circa 633 A.D.
—Nāgārjuna	...	645
—Śavarīpa	...	657
—Lūipā	...	669
—Vajraghaṇṭa	...	681
—Kacchapa	...	693
—Jālandharipā	...	705
—Kṛṣṇācārya	...	717
—Guhya	...	729
—Vijayapā	...	741
—Tailopā (Tilipā)	...	978
—Nāropā	...	990

But, as one sees from the sample of the initiations at a more recent epoch, about which one is better informed, not only does it happen that disciples presented successively have received initiation from the same master-teacher, but again a student can be older than his teacher. One would not be able to admit the postulates of the editor of the *Sādhanamālā*, nor to accept, even as an order of approximate ideas, the chronology which results therefrom.

not for that matter immune from criticism.[29] What does it imply that it should not be necessary to keep any record of the filiation lists that Tibetan sources could furnish to us ? That would be to relinquish elucidation of the problem of the mysterious origins of the Mantrayāna until the day when discovery, indeed improbable, of an antique text would furnish us with an account worthy of confidence. The least one can do, if one but wish to resign oneself to it, is to assemble before purposing to exploit them—the greatest possible number of those lists which under the name of *āmnāya* or *pāramparya*, abound, and to extract from them the incoherences, instead of contenting oneself with selecting, among the data they furnish, who comes to the support of a pre-established scheme, the value of which depends on the quality of the "intuition" of the searcher that is to say, on "imponderables", of first importance being the richness of his personal culture : it is only thanks to the scope of such culture that B. Bhattacharyya escapes errors more gross.

In brief, everything concerning the origins of the Mantrayāna is so vague, so uncertain, so confused, that it is not licit to accept the Tibetan data such as it is—unless they were in concord. Provisionally we can adopt the method of setting out an hypothesis only when supported by two arguments independents,[30] that is to say, differents in nature : for example, homonymy and synchronism, or coming from distinct sources:[31]

29. According to certain sources, Jālandhari is the student of Lūipā : still more Līlāvajra, teacher of Dārikapāda according to list I (*E.S.M.*, p. 104), is presented by Tāranātha as pupil of Lalitavajra himself student of Tillopā with the same title as Nāropā. But Tillopā himself would be perhaps the sixth or seventh successor of Dārikapāda, according to the list used by the Rev. Saṅkṛtyayana, and borrowed from volume *pa* of the *Sa-skya bka'-bum*.

30. Let us remember that two independent arguments support one another : if the probability entrained by the first argument is W_1 and W_2 that of the second, the resulting probability is $W_1+W_2-W_1W_2$.

31. It may be good to supply an example. Anaṅgavajra is one of the rare *vajrācārya* attached in a more or less feasible manner to history. According to Tibetan historian, he would be the son of king Gopāla, the first Pāla. That king, who according to Vidhyābhūṣaṇa, would have reigned during the 7th century, is attested in

(*Contd.*)

one would not be able to consider that the *Dpag-bsam ljon-bzaṅ* constitutes a source independent of Tāranātha.

A list of filiation, which cuts across that already mentioned by Kazi Dawasamdup and completes it, was published in the *Journal Asiatique* by the Rev. Saṅkṛtyayana in 1934. Those two lists present the interest of offering a certain number of variants which guarantee their independence. For instance, Dārikapāda is interposed by Saṅkṛtyayana between Lūi-pā and Vajraghaṇṭāpā. Kacchapa corresponds to Kūrmapā, but the two words *kūrma* and *kacchapa* both mean "turtle". Thus the list presented by Saṅkṛtyayana does not contradict any of the other filiations which we have consulted, in particular those of the *Seven Revelations*, and it constitutes a starting-point relatively positive.[32] Yet Saṅkṛtyayana himself only gives relative credit to it, since he writes: "These *siddha* were known

the second half of the 8th century and doubtless governed a part of Bengal from 750 to arround 770 : Anaṅgavajra belongs then in the main to the second half of the 8th century. He would therefore be definitely more recent than Bhattacharyya pretends. In list I above, Anaṅgavajra is preceded by Padmavajra who is generally identified as Padmasambhava, by reason of the resemblance of the two names, to say the truth an indication rather fragile. But, as Padmasambhava lived precisely in the second half of the 8th century (foundation of Bsam-yas towards 775), the two pieces of information cut narrow blind each other, and the hypothesis which identifies Padmavajra and Padmasambhava receives an increase of probability.

32. List quoted by R. SANKṚTYAYANA (*J.A.*, 1934, p. 218)

extract from vol. *pa* of *Sa-skya Bha'-'bum*		List borrowed from *P.S.J.Z.*
Saraha	...	Saraha
Nāgārjuna	...	Nāgārjuna
Sabarapā	...	Savarīpā
Lūipā	...	Luypa
Dārikapā	...	
Vajraghaṇṭāpā	...	Vajraghaṇṭa
Kūrmapā	...	Kacchapa
		Jālandharīpā
Kāṇha (pā) Caryapā	...	Kṛṣṇācāryya
Guhyapā	...	Guhya
Vijayapā	...	Vijayapā
Telopā	...	Tailopā
Nāropā	...	Nāropā

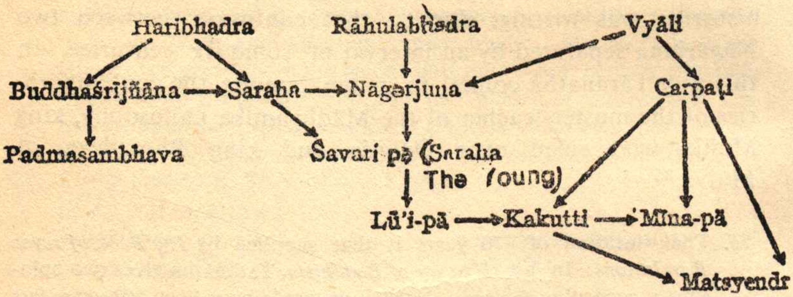
even before the 6th century, as testifies the *Mṛcchakaṭīkā* in which the prophecy of a *siddha* is mentioned. But those earlier *siddha* must not be confused with the final 84 *siddha* of the Vajrayāna. The outcome is that the Tibetan documents make of Nāgārjuna a disciple of Saraha of the 8th century, thus introducing a variance of 600 years" (p. 213).

In fact, that apparent error of the Tibetan documents may prove to arise not from the list itself, but from its interpretation. Saṅkṛtyayana did not understand that the Tibetans were confusing two Nāgārjuna effectively separated by an approximate interval of six centuries. Perhaps elsewhere they deliver to us the key to the enigma when they declare that Nāgārjuna lived exactly 670 years and a half:[33] this is what would fully satisfy the unreasonable demands of the chronology. Let us interpret : a Nāgārjuna took birth during the 2nd century, and, at the commencement of the 9th century died he who was regarded as Nāgārjuna reborn in the land of the kingdom of the *Nāga*.[34] Flagrant anachronisms in the chapter devoted by Tāranātha to the history of Buddhism in the time of Nāgārjuna warn us of the chronological difficulties in which the Tibetan historian was writing, due to that confusion between two Nāgārjuna separated by an interval of some six centuries. In this way Tārānatha comes to name, among the contemporaries of the master-teacher of the Mādhyamika philosophy, king Muñja who ruled over Oḍiviśa and king Bhojadeva of Mālva.[35]

33. That duration of 670 years is that supplied by *The Book of seven Revelations*. In his *History of Buddhism*, Tāranātha gives two opinions : according to some, Nāgārjuna would have lived 600 years less 71 years and, according to others, 600 years less 29 years.
34. For legends concerning Nāgārjuna, see in particular *E. S. M.* pp. 12 to 19.
35. "Gleichzeitig hiermit erlangte im Oḍiviśa der König Mundscha mit einer Schaar von 1000 die Gestalt von Vidhjādharas and im Western in einer Gegend Mālava's Toḍhahari erreichte der König Bhodschadeva mit einer Umgebung von 1000, indem er den Weg Mantra der Unsichtbarkeit u.s.w. einschlug, die Siddhi" (*T.N.*, 71).

There were several Bhoja : the Pratihāra Mihira Bhoja was perhaps a contemporary of the Nātha Nāgārjuna. He reigned around 843-881. But the Bhojadeva of Mālva, of the Paramāra dynasty, (*Contd.*)

One would not be able to discuss this chronology without touching upon the problem of datation of Matsyendranātha and of Gorakṣanātha, to whom the history of the eighty-four magicians attaches the great *siddha* of the Vajrayāna : mention of those *nātha* will recall the atmosphere of those centuries confused and important for the history of Buddhism. Vyāḍi, teacher of Nāgārjuna,[36] would also have instructed the alchimist Carpaṭi, tutor of Mīna-pā and of his son Macchindra. The latter is recognised by Buddhist tradition as the master of Gorakṣanātha. Another pupil of Carpaṭi, Kakuttti, who gave some precepts to Mīnā-pā and Macchindra, would have received initiation from Lūi-pā,[37] about whom it is also known that he was the pupil of Śavarī-pā, disciple of Nāgārjuna. The two filiations are therefore in accord, in considering Nāgārjuna, Carpaṭi, Kakutti, Śavarī-pā and Lūi-pā as contemporaries more or less aged, and the panel one can establish with the help of those filiations is the following :



The chronology of the Buddhist sources being sufficiently coherent from the moment it is admitted that the Nāgārjuna

belongs to the beginning of the 11th century (first inscription in 1019). As to Muñja, a ruler of that name and of the same Paramāra dynasty is well known, in particular through the novel of Merutuṅga (*ca.* 974-994). We do not think that the Nātha Nāgārjuna can be as recent if it is indeed to him that al-Bīrūnī alludes.

36. *E.S.M.*, 118.
37. *E.S.M.*, 120.

who figures in the list of the 84 *siddha* is not the great Nāgārjuna, founder of the Mādhyamika school of thought, there is not *a priori* any major reason to doubt of its exactitude.[38]

What could one conclude of that discussion that it is permissible to find this out of proportion with its object ?

38. It is then quite probable that Matsyendranātha and his student belong to the 9th century. Gorakṣanātha and Matsyendranātha are two personages known in the Hindu legend, and of great importance, since they are at the origin of *haṭhavoga*, of nāthism and of the Gorakhnāthī sect; personages remaining legendary to the point that their real existence becomes doubtful. Generally they are dated from a relatively recent epoch : Gorakhṣanātha is placed in the 13th century "by hypothesis" (L. RENOU, Glossaires de l'hindouisme, *Littérature Sanskrite*); "his life is placed very probably between the 9th and the 12th century" (M. ELIADE, *Le Yoga*, p. 301); "tradition balances between 7th century (Buddhism of Nepal)-see Sylvain LEVI *Népal*, *T.I.*, pp. 347-348—and the 15th century; ordinarily one is inclined to favour the 13th century, Bagchi for the 10th" (*L'Inde classique*, I, p. 30). But the Vaṅgalā who, in 984-985, in the reign of Mahīpāla burned some Buddhist monasteries were already attaching themselves to Matsyendranātha. But it is still well understood that their historical personality remains indiscernable, that their legend has been amplified in the course of the centuries to the point of making Gorakṣanātha the teacher (*guru*) of Śiva, in which case the writings attributed to the teacher of *haṭhayoga* are of a very much later date.

On the other hand, Matsyendranātha would be son or brother of Mīna-pā, still also called Acintya or Vajrapāda. But, *mīna* is synonymous with *matsya* : it is possible to wonder if one same personality known under two names has not been doubled; moreover the filiation supplied by Tāranātha (*E.S.M.*, p. 116) deliberately ignores Matsyendranātha. Finally, Lūipā receives as surname Ña-lto-pa, which Schiefner renders in Sanskrit by *matsyodara*, ("stomach of fish", p. 106, n. 4). He compares that surname with *Matsyendra*, *matsyanātha*, *mīnanātha*. The nearness becomes more vexing if one renders Ña-lto-pa or Ña'i rgyur-lto gsol-ba (*Rg*., XII, 8) by *Matsyāntrāda*. That identification is rejected by P. CORDIER who, concerning the author of the *Śribhagavadabhisamaya*, declares him "different from Matsyendranātha." However, play upon words based on deformation of a Sanskrit word in Tibetan would not be surprising. One can legitimately wonder if Matsyendranātha and Lūi-pā are not one and the same person.

The *Bāhyāntarabodhicittabandhopadeśa* of MĪNA-PĀ (*Rg*., XLVIII, 50) and the *Vāyutattvabhāvanopadeśa* of GORAKṢA (*Rg*., XLVIII, 51) are classified in the cycle of the Utpā. danakrama.

Small matters, doubtless, but essential. At first that a mysterious effervescence was then agitating Buddhism, that the Mantrayāna was preoccupying itself with elaborating a semblance of philosophical speculation, based on the tenets of the Mādhyamika and susceptible of adducing justification of the techniques it was advocating; that Kaśmīr could not ignore this movement and hold aloof therefrom : it was participating not only through the intermediary of neighbouring regions such as the district of Taxila, the Oḍḍiyāna or Jālandhara, but perhaps also in welcoming master-teachers, such as Śākyabodhi, who had been pupil of a famous *nātha*, to who was attributed even the name of founder of the Mādhyamika school. But, at the same time, there sprang up in Tibet, quite close to Kaśmīri personalities relatively secondary, the strange figure of another instructor very representative of one of the tendencies of contemporary Buddhism.

KAŚMĪRI MONKS IN TIBET

The history of Tibet between the reigns of Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po and Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan is relatively well known thanks to the Chinese Annals and to the documents of Touen-houang. The principal characteristics, concerning relations with Kaśmīr, are, on the one hand, the alliances with Arabs and Turks, directed against China, on the other hand, the military operations which led to the conquest of Kan-sou, of one part of central Asia and of Gilgit. The importance of those military operation for religious history is evident : the Tibetans found themselves in contact not only with Manicheism and Nestorian Christianity,[39] but also with a Buddhism marginal, very badly known, but which one guesses aberrant.

Buddhism becomes almost the State religion under the rule of Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan : that eminent figure plays in the history of Tibetan Buddhism, a role of importance equal to that of Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po, and what R.A. Stein expresses in a general manner applies specifically to Buddhism : "The great kings Songtsen Gampo and Thisong Detsen (742 to 803 or 804)

39. Jean DAUVILLIER, L' évangélisation du Tibet au Moyen Age, *Actes du XXIe Congrès international des Orientalistes*, 1949, M. LALOU, *Les religions du Tibet*, pp. 15-19.

have left a rememberance so vivid that they quickly became hero types, and some events can have shifted from one to the other."[40] Thus it is that the *Annals to Ladakh* after having spoken of the mission to Kaśmīr of 'Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, add in great disorder : "From that epoch : the Kaśmīri teachers Tabuta,[41] Ganuta, the brahmin Li-byin, invited to Tibet at the same time as the Indian teacher Kumara and the Nepalese teacher Śila-mañju and the Chinese teacher Ha-san-mahadheba; the *lo-cā ba* Thon-mi, Dha-ma-go-śa and Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje of Lha-luṅ"[42] (according to the translation of Francke). That is to say that the chronology of Buddhism in the 7th century and in the 8th century is very imprecise. However, the tendencies are clear : the conflict which will break out in broad daylight at the moment of the Council of Lha-sa is in process of maturing. Indian teachers and Chinese teachers are preaching different doctrines and striving to oust each other. The Chinese recommend an instantaneousness which, while being partly in conformity with the gnostic tendency of the Great Vehicle, ends in denial of the moral attitude which forms part of the vocation of Buddhism. The Indian influence competing with the influence Bon-po, contributed to eliminating from Tibet the Chinese religious and priests, chased away from Khotan, invited in the first half of the 8th century by Khri-lde gcug-brtan : for the dispute was mixing intimately national self-respect and religious convictions.

The Kaśmīris assuredly participated in that task of implantation of Indian Buddhism in Tibet. Among the names mentioned in the *Annals of Ladakh,* those of the Kaśmīris Tabuta (or Tabata) and Ganata (or Ghanuta) are unknown elsewhere. The first great names are those of Ananta, of Vimalamitra, of *Ś*āntirakṣita. Those master-teachers, as one would expect belonged to some very remote Indian states. Śāntirakṣita, invited by Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan and who is regarded as the introducer of Vinaya, the initiator of ordination for Tibetan monks, belonged to the enigmatic Zahor. The commencement of the official history of the Tibetan church

40. *La civilisation tibétaine,* p. 31.
41. The manuscript L gives Tabata and Ghanuta.
42. Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje is also the name of the murderer of Glaṅ Dar-ma.

would then be the work of a compatriot of Atīśa. But at the time of his arrival in Tibet, Śāntirakṣita did not know Tibetan, and he used to need an interpreter : he found one in the person of the Kaśmīri Ananta who had preceded him : the *Annals of Ladakh* specify that Ananta had become a translator (*lo-ca*) and used to preach about the ten forces, the eighteen "regions" (?) and twelve *nidāna*. It seems then to be confirmed that relations between Tibet and India were being established, as is normal, through the intermediation of the Himalayan provinces, Kaśmīr and Nepal, and that Kaśmīr played a role in the evangelisation of Tibet in its early stages, by reason of its geographical situation, but also through the cosmopolitanism which was obliging merchants, to understand the vernacular used in the the Śrīnagar market and in the caravan-saries of the Valley, and which doubtless permitted a person as desiring to be taught Tibetan. The only Tibetan word which appears in a text of Sanskrit literature is, to our knowledge, the word *ston-pa*, and it is a Kaśmīri, the very author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, who uses it.[43]

The philosopher Śāntirakṣita busied himself establishing in Tibet a native church, and the consecration of his work was the foundation of the monastery of Bsam-yas. But he came up against a vast deployment of magic mentality, knowingly orchestrated by the Bon-po, and that is the reason why he appealed to a strange personage, Padmasambhava famous as a "magician", and to whom it will be convenient to return. For concerning Padma too many problems can pose themselves, would it be in a Kaśmīri perspective; for one to seize this occasion to examine some unexpected aspects of contemporary Buddhism.

The intervention of Padmasambhava permits to be terminated the first great realisation of the epoch, the monastery of Bsam-yas, in the last quarter of the 8th century. The most probable date seems actually that of 787.[44] R. Stein clings to an uncertain date towards 775.[45] A work mere monumental

43. *R.T.*, III, 10. We do not consider as conclusive the interpretation of this passage by Sir A. Stein : see p. 32-33.
44. Luciano PETECH, *A study of the chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 70.
45. *La civilisation tibétaine*, p. 45.

still, which is the translation into Tibetan, of the Sanskrit canon, can then begin. Twelve *sarvāstivādin* monks were invited, and at the same time seven young nobles, the seven "elect" (*sad-mi mi bdun*) were ordained by Śāntirakṣita and received names ending in-*rakṣita* : Vairocanarakṣita, etc. In some years were formed a certain number of *lo-cā-ba*, of whom the most famous is precisely Vairocanarakṣita, but of whom the most efficacious thereafter were Dpal-brcegs and Klu'i rgyal-mchan. Simultaneously, Indian Buddhism was casting aside a last obstacle, thanks to Śāntarakṣita and his pupil Kamalaśīla, author of several *Bhāvanākrama* : the controversy which P. Demiéville names the"Council of Lha-sa"and which was held in the lifetime of Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan at the end of the 8th century (perhaps 792-794, according to P. Demiéville) ended in the elimination of Chinese Buddhism.

The two successors of Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan continued his work, but to Ral-pa-can fell the honour of supervising the written documents sanctioning the work of uniformisation of the language. Formerly the language of "nomadic Barbarians, preoccupied with their subsistence, with hunting, war, and magic" (Bacot, preface to the *Ślokas grammaticaux* of 'Thonmi Sambhoṭa), Tibetan at that time was in fact capable of expressing the subtleties of Buddhist thought. A new task was therefore imposing itself; to review those first imperfect translations, to perfect then with the aid of the tool they had served to forge. This is explained very well in the *Annals of Ladakh* : "Although numerous religious writings, come from Rgya (India), from Li (central Asia), from Za-hor, from Kaśmīr and other countries, had been translated under the rule of his ancestors, it was difficult to learn the Law, as sometimes the interpretations did not agree. He (Ral-pa-can) therefore invited the Indian paṇḍits Jinamitra, Śri-len-dra-bo-dhi, Dha-na-śila and others. Two Tibetan translators, Bha'-cog and the priest Ye-śes-sde, revised the whole and edited it" (*Annals of Ladakh*, p. 89).

The origin of the majority of the Indian translators who worked in Tibet during the reigns of Khri-sroṅ lde bcan and his successors, at the end of the 8th century and at the start of the 9th, is in general unknown. However, a certain number are described as Kaśmīris and even their sect is specified,

Vaibhāṣika or Sarvāstivādin. These are Dharmākara[46] Dānaśīla and above all Jinamitra and Sarvajnamitra, these latter two receiving pompous titles (*Āryamūlasarvāstivāda (mahā) vinayadhara kaśmīravaibhāṣika ācāryā*, the variants play only on the adjective *mahā* which is sometimes suppressed).[47] Like Śīlendrabodhi, who very probably was also Kaśmīri, Jinamitra was a pupil of Pūrṇavardhana : therefore he is connected with the most venerable line of the commentators of the *Vibhāṣa* and of the *Abhidharmakoṣa*. In two and three, these translators were then associating with one or two Tibetans, of whom the principal are Ye-śes-sde, Dpalbrcegs and Klu'i rgyal-mchan. It is in this way that the *Vinayavastu*, which opens the *bka'-'gyur*, has been translated by three Indians, two of whom were certainly Kaśmīri, and one *lo-cā-ba* : Sarvajñadeva, Vidyākaraprabha, Dharmākara and Dpal-gyi lhun-po.

It could be interesting, yet fastidious, to pull out what is due to the Kaśmīris. But that would be illusory on more than one count. Sarvajñamitra, Jinamitra, Dharmākara and Dānaśīla simply participated in a collective work, among a team in which were perhaps mingling monks originating from different provinces. In this hypothesis, their Kaśmīri origin does not explain the particular role they played, contrary to what happened at the commencement of the 11th century and what had already been the case at the start of contacts between Tibet and India. But what is more serious : the translators about whom no information has been supplied to us, were they not themselves Kaśmīri ? One is tempted to think that they were forming part of the twelve Sarvāstivādin of Kaśmīr invited by Khri-sroṅ lde bcan, of whom one could in that case set up a list almost complete :

Karmavarman;
Jinamitra;
Dānaśīla;
Dharmākara;

46. Catalogue of the Otani Daigaku Library, Nos. I and 809 pp. I and 135, col. I.
47. *Mdo*, LXXVII, I; LXXVIII, 2; LXXIV, I.

Prajñāvarman (Sarvāstivāda author of the *Udānavargavivaraṇa*[48] but declared, on that occasion, native of Kabargya in Bengal, perhaps through confusion with Bodhivarman);

Munivarman;

Vidyākara (—prabha or-siṃha);

Śīlendrabodhi;

Sarvajñamitra;

Surendrabodhi.

Let us recall then only that the texts of the *'dul-ba* (*Vinaya*), those at least whose translators are mentioned in colophon or in the index edited under Tāranātha's direction, were translated during that epoch (13 vols.).

The *Vinayavastu* (no. 1, 4 vols.) and the *Vinayakṣudrakavastu* (no. 6, 2 vols.), the *Prātimokṣasūtra* (no. 2, 1 vol.), the *Vinayavibhaṅga* (no. 3, 4 vols.), the *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣasūtra* (no. 4) and the *Bhikṣuṇīvinayavibhaṅga* (no. 5, 1 vol. for the two works) have been translated by Sarvajñamitra (K), Vidyākaraprabha, Dharmākara (K), Jinamitra (K), Dharmaśrībhadra, with the help of the *lo-cā-ba* Dpal-gyi lhun-po, Dpal-brcegs, Klu'i rgyal-mchan and Dpal-'byor.

Almost the whole of the translations of the *Mdo-sde* (32 vols., 226 titles) and *Dkon-brcegs* (6 vols., 49 titles) are due to the same group of monks. It is in this way that Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Munivarman worked on the translation of the *Lalitavistara* (no. 95), Surendrabodhi at that of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (no. 113), Dānaśīla at that of the *Sukhāvativyūha* (no. 115), Jinamitra and Dānaśīla at that of the *Karaṇḍavyūha* (no. 116), Jinamitra, Jñānagarbha and Devacandra at that of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (no. 120). The *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* (*Phal-chen*) (no. 44, 4 vols.) was translated by Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi and Ye-śes-sde.

Among the texts of *Prajñapāramitā* (*Śes-phyin*) (21 vols.), the *Daśasāhasrikā* (no. 11), *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (no. 12), the *Sañcayagāthā* (no. 13), the *Pañcaśatikā* (no. 15), the *Vajracchedikā* (no. 16), the *Suvikrāntavikramiparipṛcchā* (no. 14) have been translated by Jinamitra, Prajñāvarman, Śīlendrabodhi, Vidyākarasiṃha and the Tibetans Ye-śes sde and Dpal-brcegs. The translators of the enormous *Śatasāhasrikā* (no. 8, 12 vols.) are

48. *Mdo*, LXXI, 2; LXXII, I.

unknown, same as those of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* (no 9, 3 vols.) and of the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā* (no. 10, 2 vols. and 206 pages) (Ye-śes sde ?).

On the contrary, the most important of the texts classed in the *Tantra*, the *Rgyud-'bum*, have been translated at the time of the "second propagation of the doctrine". Several translations of that section of the *Bka'-'gyur* however go back to the 9th century, in particular that of the *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhivikurvitādhiṣṭhānavaipulyasūtrendrarāja nāma dharmaparyāya* (no. 494, 378 p.), of the *Vajrapāṇyabhiṣekamahātantra* (no. 496, 311 p.), of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamosūtrenḍrarāja* (no. 556, 244 p.) and of many other texts less voluminous, such as the *Mahāmayūrī* (no. 559, 60 p.). Among the *Rñiṅ-r gyud* of the *Bka'-'gyur* such as it is habitually constituted (2 vol., 17 titles), figure translations from that epoch, but they have for author Jñānakumāra (*Vajrasattvamāyajalaguhyasarvādarśatantra* (no. 833, 132p.)Vairocana (*Sarvadharmamahāśāntibodhicittakulaya*(?) *rāja* (no. 828, 171 p.), (Padmasambhava) *Vajramantrabhīrusandhimūlatantra nāma* (no. 843, 29 p.), and not the monks who came from Kaśmīr or those who form part of the same group. Is it a question simply of coincidence ? One would not know how to prove it. We know that other works of that class were translated in the reign of Ral-pa can. They do not figure in the *Bka'-'gyur* because they have not been universally recognised as canonicles. The *lo-cā-ba* Rin-chen bzaṅ-po[49] and the king of western Tibet Ye-śes'od (see under, p. 92-93) discarded them, but those texts, which are called the ancient *mantra* (*Gsaṅ-sṅags rñiṅ-ma*), figure in the *Rgyud-'bum* of the Old Believers (*rñiṅ-ma pa*), which comprises 25 volumes. In particular, that collection contains the basic texts of the two "cycles" to which Padmasambhava introduced the king Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan, those of *Vajrakīla* and *Hayagrīva*.[50]

Finally, a certain number of texts of the *Gruṅs-'dus* (2 vols., 264 works, the majority very short) have been translated by Ye-śes sde, Dpal-brcegs and their Indian collaborators, in particular the *Āryaratnaloka nāma dhāraṇī* (no. 847, 102 p.)

49. *B.A.*, p. 102.
50. *B.A.*, p. 106.

(Surendrabodhi and Ye-śes sde) and the *Āryamahāvajrameruśikharakūṭāgāradhāraṇī* (no. 946, 60 p.) (Śīlendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Ye-śes sde).

In the *Bstan-'gyur* the *Vinaya* has equally been, as it should be, translated under priority. Jinamitra essentially applied himself to that kind of translation. The most monumental work is the translation of the *Vinayasamuccaya* by Jinamitra and Sarvajñadeva, assisted by the Tibetan Klu'i rgyal-mchan (*Mdo*, LXXV-LXXVI-LXXVII, 1) (1774 p.) Other texts of *Vinaya* did not lack scope :

—the *Vinayavibhaṅgadavyākhyāna* of Vinītadeva (*Mdo*, LXXX) (500 p.);
—the *Vinayasūtra* of Guṇaprabha (*Mdo*, LXXXII, 1) (218 p. and 2700 *śloka*);
—the *Vinayasūtraṭīkā* of Dharmamitra (*Mdo*, LXXXV and LXXXVI*)* (1872 p.);
—the *Ekottarakarmaśataka* of Guṇaprabha (*Mdo*, LXXXII, 2) (376 p.).

Those four texts have been translated by Jinamitra and Klu'i rgyal-mchan.

Among the texts of *Abhidharma* must be mentioned :

—the *Prajñaptiśāstra* of Mahāmaudgalyāyana (*Mdo*, LXII) (558 p.), translated by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Ye-śes-sde and Prajñāvarman;
—the *Abhidharmakośakārikā* of Vasubandu (*Mdo*, LXIII, 1) (54 p.);
—and the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* by Vasubandu also (*Mdo*, LXIII, 2; LXIV, 1) (618 p. in all), both translated by Jinamitra and Dpal-brcegs.

Danaśīla, Jinamitra and Śīlendrabodhi also put into Tibetan a certain number of texts of the Mādhyamika school, with the help of Ye-śes sde :

—the *Sūtrasamuccaya* of Nāgārjuna (*Mdo*, XXX, 29) (156 p.), translated by Jinamitra, Śīlendradodhi and Ye-śes sde.
—the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti* of Candrakīrti (*Mdo*, XXIV, 1) (64 p.),

translated by Dānaśīla, Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi and Ye-śes sde.

—the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* of Śāntideva (*Mdo*, XXXI, 2) (444 p.) and the corresponding *kārikā* (*Mdo*, XXXI, 1) (4 p.) translated by Dānaśīla, Jinamitra and Ye-śes sde,

—and, of contemporary translation, the *Āryavajracchedikāprajñapāramitāṭikā* of Kamalaśīla (*Mdo*, XVI, 7) (152 p.) translated by Jinamitra, Mañjuśrī and Ye-śes sde.

The writings of the Vijñānavādin school have not been for that matter neglected, and the same translators have put into Tibetan some works of Maitreya, Vasubandhu and Asaṅga :

—The *Madhyāntavibhaṅga* of Maitreya (*Mdo*, XLIV, 2) (10 p.) and the *ṭīkā* of Vasubandhu (*Mdo*, XLV, 1) and of Sthiramati (*Mdo*, XLVIII, 3) (302 p.);

—the *Āryasaṃdhinirmanabhāṣya* of Asaṅga (*Mdo*, XXXIV, 1) (26 p.);

—the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* of Asaṅga (*Mdo*, LVI, 1) (102 p.);

—the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* of Asaṅga (*Mdo*, LVI, 21) (180 p.) with its comments, the *bhāṣya* of Jinaputra (*Mdo*, LVII, 1) (286 p.) and the *vyākhyāna* (*Mdo*, LVII, 21) (436 p.).

That last work (*Mdo*, LVII, 21) was translated by Jinamitra and Ye-śes sde, while the preceding translations are fruit of the collaboration of Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi and Ye-śes sde.

—The *Yogacaryābhūmau vastusaṃgraha* of Asaṅga (?) (*Mdo*, LIII, 2) (478 p.) was translated by Jinamitra, Ye-śes sde and Prajñāvarman :

—the *Viṃśakakāritā* of Vasubandhu (*Mdo*, LVIII, 2) (2 p,), by Danaśīla, Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi and Ye-śes sde, the *vṛtti* of that work (*Mdo*, LVIII, 3) (12 p.) by Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi and Ye-śes sde. Several texts are attached to it, in particular :

—the *Pañcaskandhabhāṣya* of Pṛthivībandhu (*Mdo*, LIX, 3) (260 p.), translated by Danaśīla, Jinamitra and Yes-śes sde,

—and the *Prakaraṇaviṃśakaṭīkā* of the Kaśmīri Vinītadeva (*Mdo*, LVIII, 11) (62 p.) translated by Danaśīla, Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi and Ye-śes sde.

Jinamitra is moreover named in the transmission of the doctrine of Maitreya following Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Pūrṇavardhana.

Finally, since that ancient epoch, various writings have been translated into Tibetan : a political treatise (*niti*), the *Kākacaritra* (*Mdo*, CXXIII, 43) (4 p.) ; one of medicine, the *Vaidyakasiddhasāra* of Ravigupta (the Kaśmīri ?) (*Mdo*, CXXXI, 2) (210 p.) and already two arising from logic. The Tibetan version of the *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* of the Kaśmīri Vinītadeva was done by Jinamitra and Ye-śes sde (*Mdo*, CXI, 1) (86 p.).

At the request of king Khri-lde sron-bcan Ral-po-can, those translators and *lo-cā-ba*, including Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi, Surendrabodhi and Danaśīla, compiled a dictionary comprising nearly 9500 expressions : the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*Mdo*, CXXIII, 44) (210 p.) accompanied by a *pañjīkā* the *Nighaṇṭu* (*Mdo*, CXXIV, I) (74 p.). That enormous task, accomplished at the palace of *'oṅ-caṅ rdo*, for the history of translations is not the least important and had a double aim : to facilitate later translations, but also and above all to unify the vocabulary. It is more than probable that the first translations were very inexact. During that period was created the remarkable system of equivalences which, when in possession of the Tibetan translation of a Buddhist Sanskrit text, permits (the experiment been tried) reconstitution of the original, if not word for word, at least with remarkable approximation.

On the contrary, the language thus created is far removed from current usage and become unintelligible to those who are not familiar both with the subtleties of Buddhist thought and their mode of expression in that conventional system.

One remains astounded faced with the extent of the work done in a few decades by some fifteen Indian and Tibetan translators. The immensity of that task incites one to wonder if the translations attributed to them are not often simple corrections of previous translations, memory of which would since then have been lost. But, to say the truth, even this hypothesis scarcely reduces the merit of Danaśīla, Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi, Ye-śes sde, Dpal-brcegs, Klu'i rgyal-bcan and of their companions who fixed the set forms of the texts of Tibetan Buddhism, and to whom we ourselves are indebted

for documents which without them would definitely have disappeared.

THE "MAGICIAN" PADMASAMBHAVA AND BUDDHISM OF THE NORTHWEST FOLLOWING MUSSULMAN EXPANSION

The German authors, Laufer, Grünwedel and recently Helmut Hoffmann, attribute to Padmasambhava's influence, the introduction into Buddhism elements arrived from Iran, in particular of Manichean characteristics. They thus pose in its ensemble, on the subject of Padmasambhava, the problem of the transformation of Buddhism in the whole of northwest India following Mussulman expansion to Irano-Indian borders and in Turkistan.[51] The conquest of Lalitāditya, who extended the authority of Kaśmīr on an important territory which concerns us in the highest degree, contributed their to share to that vast mixing of men and ideas.

Despite his prudence, R.S. Stein does not deny those foreign intakes as for as Tibet is concerned : "During the same epoch, scattered ideas from other strange religions were able to reach Tibet : Manicheism through the Turks (Ouigours), the Sogdians and China, Nestorianism through Iran, and Islam through the Arabs. The same is true for certain traits of folklore."[52]

Less circumspect, other authors come to speak of it as "Padmaism" (*Padmaismus*, H. Hoffmann)[53] and to conceive a religious syncretism, a *Mischreligion* (in the same way as Greco-Buddhist art is qualified as *Mischkunst*). "Very much richer in consequences than all the political upheavels is proving the infiltration of spiritual and strange religious ideas which made of eastern Iran, of Udyāna, Gandhāra, Bru-sha (Gilgit), of zhang-zhung today tibetanised and of Kaśmīr, a veritable "circus" of religious tendencies very diverse." It

51. LAUFER, Die Bru-za Sprache und die historische Stellung des Padmasambhava, *T'oung Pao*, 1908 : "Die bunte Vermengung von Ideen in Padmasambhava's Legendenbuch, die aus den verschiendensten Religionen geschöpft sind, Buddhismus, Parsismus, Christentum, Islam-wahrscheinlich wird auch der Manichäismus hinzuzuzählen sein-ist des getreue Spielgebild einer Epoche u.s.w." (pp. 10 and 11).
52. *La Civilisation tibétaine*, p. 39.
53. *Die Religionen Tibets*, Freiburg-München, 1956.

goes without saying that those tendencies would have impregnated Buddhism, in which would have come to mingle certain Greek gnostic elements and antique mysteries, at the same time traces of Magdeism or of the Zervanist religion. It should be well understood that to all this must be added Manicheism Christianity and also Islam. Again it would be necessary to delimit what Buddhism was able to borrow from each of those religion. Such speculations could not fail to be seducing if, at the present state of our knowledge, their impression did not prevent us from taking them into account.

To reserve the hypothesis of "padmaic syncretism" is one thing; to deny the strangeness of the figure of Padmasambhava would be quite another : one can fall into agreement with Laufer that the great magician of Oḍḍiyāna is one of the most remarkable figures of Asiatic history (*eine der merkwürdigsten Personen der Geschichte Asiens*). But there again legend, sometimes of the most extravagant, chokes history. For numerous and prolific as may be the writings, as much ancient as modern, bigoted as learned, concerning the founder of the red Church,[54] we remain poorly informed on his subject. Established data reduce themselves finally to very little : the approximate date of Padmasambhava, his links with a certain king Indrabhūti, his science of "magician", his importance for

54. Among the works translated let us quote :
H. LAUFER, *Der Roman Einer tibetischen Königin*, *in-4°*, x-263 p., Leipzig, 1911;
G.G. TOUSSAINT, *Le Dict de Padma* (*Padma Thang Yig*), Bibliotheque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, vol. 3, in-8°, 540 p., Paris, 1933;
W.Y. EVANS WENTZ, *The Tibetan book of the Great Liberation or the method of realizing Nirvāna through knowing the mind, preceded by an epitome of Padmasambhava's biography, with a Psychological commentary by Dr. C.C. Jung*, in-8°, LXIV-262 p., London, 1954.
See also :
L.A. WADDEL, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaïsm* pp. 24-33 and *passim* (see Index of the book) London, 1896;
GRUENWEDEL, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet and der Mongolei*, in-8°, XXXVI-244 p., fig. and pl., Leipzig, 1900;
Emil SCHLAGINTWEIT, *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, I, XXI, 2 and XXII, 3, München, 1899 and 1903;
B. LAUFER, Die Bru-za Sprache und die historische Stellung des Padmasambhava, *T'oung Pao*, 1908, p. 1.

the history of Lamaism, which it would be fruitless to underestimate and the foundation of the monastery of Bsam-yas. That is the essential. All the rest is literature, sometimes of the most beautiful, but its interest is completely different.

THE ORIGIN OF PADMASAMBHAVA AND HIS LINKS WITH KAŚMĪR

Even the connection of Padmasambhava with Oḍḍiyāna, in the eyes of Tibetans holy ground whence came to them Lamīsm through the medium of the vexacious silhouette of its founder, is not immune from criticism. It is said that Padmasambhava was the adopted son of Indrabhūti, king of Oḍḍiyāna, but he would also have Saroruha for name; indeed, it is known that a Saroruha was adopted by king Indrabhūti of Kāñcī.[55]

In fact, the first difficulty comes from the diverse names under which Padmasambhava is designated : doubtless he received a new title at each of his initiations, and according to Grünwedel, he was successively called Padmākara, Padmavajra, Saroruha and also Vararuci, although that name does not figure in the *Dict of Padma*.

Already in 1898, Laufer was remarking in an article of *T'oung Pao* that, if Padmasambhava did not appear in the German translation of translation of Schiefner, that is simply because the translator had rendered by the Sanskrit Padmākaraghoṣa the Tibetan Padma 'byuṅ-gnas dbyaṅs which can also be well translated by Padmasambhavaghoṣa. In the translations from Tibetan texts, the two equivalents of *'byuṅ-gnas* alternate, but that is otherwise without great importance. Palmyr Cordier, who habitually renders Padma 'byuṅ-gnas by Padmākara (*Rg.*, XIV, 27 and 37; *Rg.*, LXVI, 9; *Rg.*, LXIX, 110; *Rg.*, LXX, 47; *Rg.*, LXXI, 5 and 145; *Rg.*, LXXII, 2), translates the same name by Padmasambhava in regard to *Rg.*, LXXVI, 27 (*Pañcāgamamūla*, although the Mongolian index gives the equivalent of it as Padmākara. On the contrary, referring to the *Samayapañca* (*Rg.*, XXI, 6), P. Cordier is in agreement with the Mongolian index by rendering Padma 'byuṅ-gnas-zabs by Padmasambhavapāda.

We do not think there is a serious difficulty there : examination of the catalogues proves that Padmākara and Padmasambhava are names given to one single Indian translator, collaborator of the *lo-cā-ba* Vairocana and Dpal-gyi seṅ-ge.

But it was equally supposed that this Padmasambhava was the same as the magician Mahāpadmavajra and Saroruha,

55. *P.S.J.Z.*, p. 131.

approximate synonym of Padmasambhava. Advayavajra gives the names of Saroruha and Sarojavajra to the author of *doha* in general called Saraha. The whole of these identifications, without being quite impossible, comes up against objections quite numerous. For example, a filiation prevents Saroruha as the pupil of Anaṅgavajra, himself student of Mahāpadamvajra; Padmavajra and Saroruha are nonetheless presented at different times as identical, in particular in the titles and colophons of a certain number of secondary texts concerning the *Hevajratantra* (*Rg.*, XXI, 1, 2 and 7). It is perhaps fortuitous that the *Samayapañca* of Padmasambhava should happen to slip among those texts attributed to Saroruha, and, until proved to the contrary, it is prudent to distinguish Padmasambhava from Saroruha and from Padmavajra. Unfortunately, the two names of Padmasambhava and of Padmavajra are abbreviated as Padma, and attribution of certain texts remains undecided : this is so in the case of *Rg.* LXIX, 6; LXVI, 342; LXXV, 11; LXXVI, 32 (1, 3, 14, 64, 66, 110).[56] Padmasambhava is often simply called U-rgyan-pa : he is the "master-teacher from Oḍḍiyāna", and that province, in the context of his legend, is a western province.

The *Padma thaṅ yig*, which would be translated from the

56. The works attributed to Padmasambhava, if one makes these distinctions, are then :

A text concerning the *vinaya :*

—the *Bhikṣuvarṣāgrapṛcchā* (*Mdo*, XC, 21) (13 p.).

Diverse texts attaching themselves to the Mantranaya :

—the *Āryanīlāmbaradharavajrapāṇisādhanopāyikāṭīkā* (cycle of Vajrapāṇi) (*Rg.*, XLV, 37) (18 p.);

—the *Samayapañca* (*Rg.*, XXI, 6) (5 p.) (attached to the *Hevajratantra*),

and the *Samayapañcāśikā* (*Rg.*, LXXXV, 16) (5 p.);

—the *Vajravidāraṇīnāmadhāraṇīvyākhyāna vajrā loka nāma* (*Rg.*, LXVI, 9) (34 p.);

—the *Guhyapattrikā* (*Rg.*, LXIX, 110) (4 p.);

—the *Alimanmathasādhana* (*Rg.* LXX, 47) (4 p.);

—the *Muktakena arapacanasādhana* (*Rg.*, LXXI, 5) (5 p.) and (*Rg.* LXXI, 145) (6 p.);

—the *Vimānaprakāśābhisamaya tamoharapradīpa* (*Rg.*, LXXII, 2) (2 p.);

—the *Śrīkhasarpaṇalokanāthasādhana* (*Rg.*, LXXXII, 14) (5 p.).

But if one less strict about the criteria of attribution, it is possible to add to this list as many more writings.

language of Oḍḍiyāna, and of which we are given even the name in that language (*Ruakṣa śakarana*) situates explicitly to westward Padma's country :

> "The Indies having nine great countries
> at the centre is the Diamond throne, seat of the Silent One;
> from there, eastward, is the land of Bengal;
> to the south, there is the Baiddha;
> to the west, there is Oḍḍiyāna;
> to the north, the land of Kaśmīr;
> to south-east, the country of Zahor;
> to south-west, the country of Khangbu;
> Towards north-west, the Land of Copper;
> towards north-east, the Kāmarūpa."[57]

According to the same work, the father of Lamaism would have done a part of his studies in Kaśmīr, but the legendary context is hardly such as to inspire confidence, and moreover, Padmasambhava would equally have studied in many other places. Near to Kaśmīr is mentioned the Siṅgala ("He came to Kaśmīr, held his seat in the Siṅgala"). That province which, according to chapter XX of the *Padma than yig*, seems a neighbour of Oḍḍiyāna, played an important role in Padma's life, since his spouse Bhāsadharā was a native of that place. Does it refer to Siṃhapura (see above p. 29) as pretends Waddel, followed by Toussaint ? That very plausible assimilation is however far from being certain. But the links of Padmasambhava with Kaśmīr are better established, thanks to more certain indications:[58] Tāranātha and Sum-pa mkhan-po agree in declaring that Padma'byuṅ-gnas[59] lived and worked in Kaśmīr.

Tāranātha and following him the *Dpag-bsam ljon-byan* (p. 113) suggested that Padma 'byun-gnas of Kaśmīr can be the *lo-dri-mkhan-po*. Schiefner translates "der Paṇḍita von Lodri" (it would have been of more value to say *upādhyāya*) (p. 220), while Sarat Candra Das thinks that *lo-dri* can signify "chronology." Could one not suppose that *lo-dri* can be simply a graphical error, in the documents used by Tāranātha,

57. *Dict of Padma*, follio 367, from the French translation by G.G. TOUSSAINT.
58. *T.N.*, p. 219-220; *P.S.J.Z.*, pp. 113-114.
59. Padma 'byuṅ-gnas dvyaṅs [Padmākaraghoṣa] in the *P.S.J.Z.*

for *'O-dri*, that is to say Oḍḍiyāna (U-ḍi, *Hevajratantra*, I, VII, 12) ?

Let us add that Padmasambhava, according to the *Chronicles of Ladakh* would have been invited, at the request of Ananta, that is to say of one of his compatriots, if it is accurate that Padma be a native of India of the North-West and that the missionaries sent to look for him found him in Mar-yul, that is to say in Ladakh.

MAGIC AND ORTHODOXY

The essential aspect of Padmasambhava's genius and role has sometimes shocked certain individuals, appearing to them as an unexpected tare in the character of a Buddhist monk : if the philosopher Śāntarakṣita appealed to him, it was on account of his fame as a "magician". Doubtless, this is the opportunity to specify the meaning of that word and to reject the narrowest interpretation. It contrives to retain part of the usual meaning of magic and, placing itself on quite another psychological plane, recruits its adepts in a very different milieu which, since it is also qualified as Buddhistic, could not escape the attention of the historian : the Buddhists, who were not only the doctors and lay faithful most pious and respectable, but also all those who, garbed under that name, were landing themselves to bitter criticism of the anti-Buddhists— because there were assuredly some, even if Kalhaṇa and Kṣemendra were not included among them. They also played their role; they threw discredit on the religion of the Blessed One, and by so doing, hastened his eviction.

In reality, the word magician (*magicien*, *Zauberer* or *Zaubermeister*) translates the Sanskrit *siddha* or *mahāsiddha*, the Tibetan *dṅos-grub* or *dṅos-grub chen-po*. But that translation is hardly satisfying in the first approximation. Padmasambhava was certainly Buddhist, and Śāntarakṣita has found nothing to say about his orthodoxy. However, it was necessary that the magician, in order to triumph over the Bon-po, should enter into their mentality and attack them with their own weapons. But there is not, in the perspective of the *śūnyatā* anything of heresy in that : the policy of certain Indian Buddhists, in the presence of a psychology impregnated with magic, has been an effort of progressive purification, based on this

conviction that the apparent world is pure phantasmagoria. It has been known for a long time that there exists only a relative difference between the infernal world integrally provoked by the *karman* and the world of daily experience subjectivised by the intake of the individual *karman*. Moreover, the Mantrayāna used to teach that those forces can be orientated and trained by those who recognise their true nature. Indian Buddhism was then prepared to take seriously the assertions of Tibetan magicians concerning spirits of all kinds and their intervention in human existence. But it was interpreting them in its own manner, in a psychological perspective completely different : the fact of a *siddha* being a great magician could only signify, for the doctors if not for the people, that he had acquired over the swarm of psychosomatic forces, considered as of karmic nature, a perfect mastery.

It is even strongly possible that Padma, and others after him, in view of the impossibility of withdrawing certain elements from the Tibetan people of superstitious and magic mentality, tied possibly to the autochtonal religion, possibly to the Bon, content themselves with "Buddhism" all those elements, by underlining the *abhāvatā*, the irreality, and, on the contrary have taken from this an argument for confirming the illusory character of current experiences.

This is however the place to recall that the India of the north-west, Padma's native land, has often been considered as the land of the magicians *par excellence* to evoke the strange countenance of Caṅkuṇa, and to remember how often magic intervenes in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and, more precisely, in the flow of that book IV, under the names of *abhicāra*, or that more strange, of *khārkhodavidyā*.[60]

THE CYCLE OF MAHĀKĀLA AND KAŚMĪR

If Vararuci were even one of the names of Padmasambhava as Grünwedel used to think, one would have been able to make of its argument for confirming the links with Kaśmīr of that enigmatic personage.[61] Indeed Vararuci author of works dedicated to what Tibetans call the cycle of Mahākāla, offers

60. *R.T.*, IV, *94*; 112 and 124.
61. Cf. P. CORDIER, Catalogue, t. II, p. 197, *Rg.*, LXXXII, 77.

us an occasion to specify certain aspects really Kaśmīri and popular of Buddhistic devotion, and the windfall is too exceptional for one to neglect profitting from it.

The writings attributed to the *mahācārya* Vararuci, called in Tibetan Mchog-sred, brahmin [*mahāśmaśānasiddhisampanna*],[62] include a certain number of texts consecrated to Mahākāla and to Devīkālī, in particular the *Śrimahākālasādhana* (*Rg*., LXXXII, 69) (6 p.), which was translated by Dmar-po and for which the colophon supplies a long filiation; that text is one of the basic texts of the cycle of Mahākāla. But, the cycle of Mahākāla, of which the most celebrated representative, Dmar-po, is a Kaśmīri (see following chapter) seems indeed to have some links with Kaśmīr. A *dhāraṇī*, already quoted by Burnouf, recommends worship of Mahākāla, who has the names of Nandikeśvara, Adhimuktika, and who inhabits the cemeteries of Kaśmīr.[63]

Nandikeśvara is also named close to Mahākāla in chapter II of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, of which the date, very controversial, is assuredly well after that B. Bhattacharyya[64] was proposing. The Tibetan text justifies the translation of A. Mac Donald and considers that Mahāgaṇapati, Mahākāla and Nandikeśvara are three different persons (*chogs-kyi bdag-po chen-po daṅ dga'-byed dbaṅ-phyug daṅ nag-po chen-po daṅ*).[65] The use in Sanskrit of the duel authorises the interpretation Mahāgaṇapati and Nandikeśvara Mahākāla.[66]

From his side, Tāranātha alludes, in relation to the creation of the Śrītrikaṭukavihāra, to a legend describing the appartition of a *vihāra* hidden in a lake in Kaśmīr :[67] a black man would have appeared in a dream, would have given the order to offer a sacrifice to Mahākāla, and the *yakṣa* would then have dried up the lake. As Tāranātha remarks in his own way,

62. *Rg*., LXXXII, 71.
63. Collection of *dhāraṇī*, manuscript of the Société Asiatique, folio 29b, BURNOUF, *Introduction*...,p. 543.
64. See on this point the introduction of A. MAC DONALD to the *Maṇḍala* of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.
65. *Ibid*., pp. 118 and 161.
66. G. ŚĀSTRI, *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 44.
67. *T.N.*, p. 210,

legends of that sort form part of universal folklore and transport themselves. Their localisation has not great significance.

Mahākāla, a form of Śiva, is in particular the name of the *liṅga* venerated at Ujjayinī. The titles of the works[68] hardly leave any doubt, they concern the annexation to Buddhism of Śiva and Pārvatī. If uncertainty could subsist, the name of Nandikeśvara would suffice to lift it, since Nandin, acolyte of Śiva, shown in the form of a bull, is also an emanation of Śiva and, definitively, a form of Śiva.

The *dhāraṇī*, quoted by Burnouf, perhaps alludes to the famous *tīrtha* situated on mount Haramukuṭa, named several times in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* be it under the name of Nandikṣetra,[69] be it under that of Nandīśakṣetra.[70] The legend concerning that cycle is related in the *Nīlamata*,[71] but does not offer any detail susceptible of throwing light on the allusion made by Tāranātha concerning a drowned *vihāra*. The central part of the lake, of a deep blue verging on black, is reputed to represent Śiva in the form of Mahākāla, while the surrounding part, clearer, is Nandin's sojourn. This particular case of the

68. Here is the list of writings of Vararuci :
—*Śrīmahākālāsādhana* (*Rg*., XXVI, 78) (3 p.);
— -do- (*Rg*., LXXI, 81) (2 p.);
— -do- (*Rg*., LXXXII, 69) (6 p.);
— -do- (*Rg*., LXXXII, 74) (5 p.);
— -do- (*Rg*., LXXXII, 75) (1 p.);
—*Mahākālakarmaguhyasādhana* (*Rg*., LXXXII, 71) (5 p.);
—*Mahākālakīlasādhana* (*Rg*., LXXXII, 103) (3 p.);
—*Śrīmahākālābhiṣekavidhi*, (*Rg*., XXVI, 80) (5 p.);
—*Śrīmahākālabalividhi*, (*Rg*., LXXXII, 76) (1 p.);
—*Śrīmahākālastotra*, (*Rg*., XXVI, 88) (1 p.);
— -do- (*Rg*., LXXXII, 77) (5 lines);
— -do- (*Rg*., LXXXII, 78) (1 p.);
—*Yakṣakālastotra* (*Rg*., LXXXII, 92) (1 p.);
—*Mahākālastotra ākṣepa nama* (*Rg*., LXXXIII, 3) (1 p.);
—*Devīkālīstotra* (*Rg*., LXXXII, 84) (3 p.);
—*Śrīdevīkālīstotra* (*Rg*., LXXXII, 85) (2 p.);
—*Śrīmahākālīdevīstotra aṣṭaka nāma* (*Rg*., XXVI, 91) (2 p.);
—the *Karmakara stotra* (*Rg*., LXXXII, 91) (3 p.);
—the *Śatagāthā* (*Mdo*., CXXIII, 30) (10 p.).

69. *R.T.*, I, 36, 148; II, 170; VII, 646, 954; VIII, 77, 2365 and 2439.

70. *R.T.*, II, 113.

71. *Śloka*, 1061-1131.

adoption by Buddhism of the form of a Hindu divinity offers the interest of localising that adoption and permits of imagining that this kind of fusion or of confusion between the two religions could have operated first at the level of popular devotion.

But it is important to remarks that the Buddhists, in adopting some divinities of the *tīrthika*, did not lose from view, at least in certain cases, that they were dealing with divinities foreign to the Buddhistic pantheon. It is thus, that concerning the *Śridevīkālīsādhanopāyikā* (*Rg.*, XXVI, 83), the Tibetan translation speaks of *lha-mo mu-stegs-kyi sgrub-lugs*, "the propitiation of the Goddess of the *tīrthika*".

4

From the persecution of Glaṅ Dar-ma to the mission of Rin-chen Bzan-Po 840 (or 900)-980

On the death of Ral-pa-can, his senior brother Glaṅ Dar-ma, the Mihirakula of Tibetan Buddhism, seized power. He reigned perhaps only a few years : his criminal life was interupted by the arrow shot at him by a disguised Buddhist monk.[1] But the persecution he had ordered, a massacre of monks, a destruction of monasteries and libraries sufficed to eliminate Buddhism from central Tibet and permit the Bon-po to pursue, if necessary, the work undertaken. The first act of Tibetan history finishes with that sinister scene. Internal disorder, political and military collapse follow close upon the persecution, and obscurity persists throughout an interval which doubtless lasted seventy years, perhaps one hundred and thirty, until a light shines to westward, prelude to a new raising of the curtain. So changes between Tibet and Buddhist India found themselves interrupted.

The persecution therefore involves a gap in our information and perhaps had for Kaśmīri Buddhism a more serious consequence : one cannot exclude the possibility that the stimulus,

1. According to the *Blue Annals*. On the contrary, according to Bu-ṣton, his reign lasts a complete cycle of 60 years (see above, p. 27).

which evangelisation of Tibet was constituting for the Kaśmīri monks, may have weakened abruptly and the activity of the Indian teachers may have been somewhat lessened. In fact, the first half of the 10th century appears to us as a not very fruitful period of Kaśmīri Buddhism, be that appearance the reflection of reality or simply a consequence of the conditions of our documentation. This is an opportunity to make the point, before the expansion of relations between Kaśmīr and Tibet in the 9th century. If increase of master-teachers, the manifold variety of their interests or of their trends, is sometimes in danger of masking the broad lines of evolution, that was certainly not the case between 840 (or 900) and the extreme end of the 10th century.

The reign of Avantivarman first sovereign of the Utpala dynasty, inaugurates a new period of grandeur, after degeneration and extinction of the Kārkoṭa dynasty during the middle of the 9th century. Kaśmīr was then finding itself reduced to the Vitastā valley. But the most urgent task was to re-establish internal order and restore the Kaśmīri economy : Avantivarman dedicated himself to that, and he was aided by a minister who was at the same time an engineer, and whose admirable work brought prosperity to the Kaśmīri peasants. The richness of the State in that era is proved by the numerous foundations of Avantivarman and of Suyya, and also by the patronage of poets and scholars : it is the epoch of Ratnākara, Ānandavardhana, of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and "of other *siddha* descended on earth for the good of the people".[2]

Avantivarman's successor, Śaṅkaravarman, busied himself restoring the authority of Kaśmīr over the surrounding mountainous districts, doubtless including Trigarta; Śaṅkaravarman would even have disputed with the ruler of the Gūrjara a district named Takka, the localisation of which is rather uncertain. According to the judgement of Kalhaṇa, it seems that an expedition against the Śāhi would only have been partly successful. But that policy of conquest required resources, which Śaṅkaravarman obtained by organizing a system of taxes and of fatigue-duties which brought him a sinister reputation. The

2. *R.T.*, V, 66.

king was killed by an arrow, perhaps one year after the identical death met by Glaṅ Dar-ma, or indeed, sixty years later.

His son being too young to wield power, it was his wife, Sugandhā, who took political affairs in her own hands, before reigning personally. Then commenced to show their turbulence certain military bodies who developed the habit of intervening too frequently in the political life of Kaśmīr : *ekānga* and *tantrin* did not hesitate to resolve the conflicts of trends by military intervention disastrous for the country. Soon the big landed proprietors, called *ḍāmara*, intervene militarily in their turn, and Kaśmīr lives in a state of latent civil war until the accession of Yaśaskara (939-948) who succeeds in restoring the authority of the State, without abusing it, and who founded, among other things, an establishment of cultural interest, a *maṭha*, destined for students from other Indian regions.

After that respite of several years, Kaśmīr is again pray to disorders, until the moment when appears one of the strangest personages of Kaśmīri history, Queen Diddā, a princess from the family of Lohara, whom Kṣemagupta, at the commencement of the half century, chose for wife. At the death of Kṣemagupta, Diddā assumes the regency for her son Abhimanyu. The queen's energy soon shows itself through measures of a severity which one can find excessive, but which permit her to re-establish the authority, very compromised, of the State. Finally, after having governed under five successive kings, Diddā, starting from 980, herself mounts the throne.[3]

The misery, the decrepitude of a court which would have delighted the incisive mattle of Tacitus, the perversion, the street combats and the disasters of all kinds, have not however interrupted the cultural life of Kaśmīr. Nevertheless they were not conducive to creating a climate favourable to meditation and study. The monasteries themselves did not offer safe shelter. Were then the *vihāra* considered places of refuge ? Kṣemagupta, in any case, did not penetrate into the Jayendravihāra in order to pursue a *ḍāmara* who had taken refuge

3. A fine bronze, consecrated during her reign and representing Avalokiteśvara between two assessors, is preserved in the museum of Śrīnagar (H. GOETZ, The Mediaeval Sculptures of Kashmir, *Mārg*, XIII, fasc. 2, fig. 10).

there. But he did not recoil before an act still more sacrilegious, since he did not hesitate to burn the monastery for the sole purpose of killing that *ḍāmara*!

Buddhism is not then of first importance in the cultural life. It suffices to recall the name of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, immediate pupil of Vasugupta, of Somānanda, who was founder of the theory of Recognition, and of his pupil Utpaladeva, in order to evoke the magnificent dawn of Śivaism *trika*, whose most illustrious representative, Abhinavagupta, was around the year 1000, the contemporary of famous Kaśmīri Buddhists; an example, perhaps unique in India, of expansion of a doctrine, all the teachers of which belong to one same province geographically diminutive : in order to find an efflorescence comparable, although in many respects very different, it would be necessary to go nearly to the extreme south, where linguistic limitation imposed by Tamil expression plays a role somewhat analogous to that of the mountain barrier which, without isolating it, protects the originality of Kaśmīri thinking. Those metaphysicians, who were at the same time believers and *bhākta* interested themselves in other spheres, particularly in aesthetics, and their essentially religious preoccupation, far from stifling their sensibility, served somewhat to abet it by englobing aesthetic experience in the spiritual circle. They were also adepts in what is called the *Tantra*, they use it themselves, but the extension of which it will be fitting to specify.

It is beyond doubt that this Śivaism knew the theories professed by contemporary Buddhists and was able to inflect the thinking of the Buddhist teachers, or at least oblige them to deepen their own theses : discussions between the two religious groups must have been frequent and fruitful.[4] There are various indications of this, but one of the most unusual and least contestable is the integration in the *Bstan-'gyur* of two texts from the Śivaism *trika*, the *Svarodayatantra* in 1000 *śloka*, still called *Yuddhajayārṇavatantrarāja* (*Mdo*, CXXIII, 14,

4. Although this may be on the margin of our subject, it is not devoid of interest to recall, concerning contacts between movements of philosophical and mystical research, the journey to Kaśmīr of the great *ṣūfi al*-Hallāj, martyred in March 922 (Louis MASSIGNON, *La passion d'Al Hallaj*, Paris, 1922, p. 89).

107 p.) and the *Svarodayalagnaphalopadeśa* (*Mdo*, CXXIII, 23, 3 p.). Regarding the first of those texts, the index compiled under the direction of Tāranātha specifies very clearly that it was expounded in the manner of the *bāhya*, of the "heretics", in the form of a dialogue between Thal-ba'i dbaṅ-phyug [Bhasmeśvara] and Lha-mo ri'i sras-mo [Devīpārvatī]. The filiation (*āmnāya*) of those texts, translated into Tibetan by the Kaśmīri Jayānanda, does not leave any doubt about their connection :

—Rgyal-ba Śākya thub-pa chen-po, Jina Śākyamahāmuni, whom one states carefully in the note, in order to avoid all suspicion of heresy, that it concerns Saṅs-rgyas, the Buddha ;
—Śrī Maheśvara;
—Dpal Rta-mgrin mgon-po;
—Dpal Chaṅs-pa mgon-po;
—Dpal Zla-ba kun-dga' mgon-po;
—Dpal Utpala mgon-po;
—Dpal Gsaṅ-ba'i mchan-can;
—Dpal Mantrabātra or Maṇḍalabhadra;
—Dpal Abhinavaguptaratna;
—Dpal Śaṃkarabhadra;
—Dpal Phun-sum-chogs 'jin bzaṅ-po;
—Dpal Seṅ-ge go-che;
—Dpal 'jam-dpal dga'-byed;
—Dpal 'od-mjad or Dpal'od-byed;
—Dpal Jayānanda.

It is sufficient to render back in Sanskrit the names translated in Tibetan, in order to obtain a filiation properly Śivaite :

—Maheśvara;
—Hayagrīva;
—Brahman;
—Somanāndanātha;
—Utpalanātha;
—Guhyalakṣmaṇa;
—Mantrabhaṭṭa or-bhadra;
—Abhinavagupta.

The most interesting personage on that list is the one who is placed at the hinge of the Śivaite line and of Buddhist master-teachers. Śaṅkarabhadra, who appears as a pupil of

Abhinavagupta, was he deserter from Śilvaīsm ? Would he not be the Kasmīri brahman Śaṅkarānanda, who, according to Tāranātha's narration was led towards Buddhism by his interest in logic ?[5]

Logic was, then, one of the two major categories of preoccupation of the Buddhist teachers, able to seduce intellectuals of all propensities. Ānandavardhana would not have disdained to compose a *vivṛtti* of the *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭikā*, where he criticised Dharmottara,[6] and Abhinavagupta quotes Dharmakīrti, whose theses[7] he accepts over and over again. But the two religious groups also applied themselves to other research which, for want of better, is again included under the name of "tantrism". Even if opposed by serious divergences in detail, there is already a spiritual connection, deposit of osmosis and emulation. The esoteric cachet which guarded that teaching was opposed to its divulgence, but not to exchanges between the spiritually elite of the various religions, and Abhinavagupta criticises at length, in his *Tantrāloka* (chap. XVI), the theses of the Buddhist cycle which appeared in the 10th century and which, franker than the *tantra* of the preceding epoch, presents itself as a new faith.

Before grappling with those two subjects—logic and *vajrayāna*—let us mention a personage whose works were admitted to the *bstan'-gyar*, but about whom there is nothing to indicate that he has been a Buddhist. This is a doctor, doubtless the most learned of mediaeval Kaśmīr, Candranandana, who, unlike so many teachers, is dated with quite satisfying precision, since one of his writings is accompanied by good wishes addressed to Śāhi Thakkana, equally known through the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[8] but who is not mentioned by al-Bīrūnī. Abhimanyu, Kalhaṇa informs us, led an expedition against that sovereign, his allegiance to the king of Śrīnagar. As Abhimanyu reigned from 958 to 972, one is able to admit with sufficient approximation that Candranandana lived in the second half of the 10th century.

That doctor, who is given the title of *Sakalāyurvedaśāstrakuśala*, was according to genealogical information, passed down through the Tibetan

5. *Cf.* under pp. 126-127.
6. STCHERBATSKY, *Buddhist Logic*, p. 41, n. 5.
7. *Abhinavabhāratī*, edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of BHARATA with commentary from Abhinavagupta by Manavalli Ramakrishna KAVI, *G.O.S.*, vol. I, no. XXXVI, pp. 275-276.
8. VI, 230-231 and 236.

translation of his writings, son of [Ratinandana] and grandson of [Mahānandana], and he was a native of Kaśmīr. He edited a voluminous treatise which occupies not less than 2188 pages in Tibetan translation and which is entitled *Padārthacandrikāprabhāsa*. It is presented as a *vivṛtti* of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II[9] and consists of the eight traditional divisions : the section dealing with generalities, [*sūtrasthāna*] (*mdo'i gnas*) constitutes itself alone nearly a third of the work (*Mdo*, CXX). The section relating to the body, [*śārīrasthāna*] (*lus-kyi gnas*), aetiology, [*nidānasthāna*] (*nad-gzi'i gnas*), and therapeutics [*cikitsāsthāna*] (*gso-ba'i gnas*) occupy a second volume; toxicology [*kalpasiddhistana*] (*cho-ga grub-pa'i gnas*) and [*uttarasthāna*] (*phyi-ma'i gnas*), where are united various matters (ophthalmology, oto-rhino-laryngology, gynaecology, etc.) constitute the last volume (*Mdo*, CXXII, 1). The same author composed the *Aṣṭāṅgādikabheṣaja nāma paryāya* which, although it is presented as an independent treatise, forms part of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayavṛtti*, as its Tibetan title informs us : *sman-dpyad yan-lag brgyad-pa'i sñiṅ-po'i grel-pa las*, etc. (*Mdo*, CXXII, 2) (91 p.).

THE STUDY OF LOGIC

The interest in logic, which manifested itself in Buddhism as a consequence of the writings of Dharmakīrti, seems to have been interrupted in the 9th century, reappearing later in the 11th century : there existed in Kaśmīr a brilliant school of logic, of which the big names are those of Jñānaśrībhadra, Parahitabhadra, Bhavyarāja, Manoratha. But, the most eminent of the Buddhist logicians after Dharmottara and Vinītadeva are doubtless Prajñākaragupta, Yamāri, Śankarānanda and Sūrya or Ravigupta homonym of the devout worshipper of the Tārā, and it is indeed difficult to assign to them a date. Several indications lead one to believe that it is at the close of the 9th century and the opening of the 10th, that occurs the admirable revival of the study of logic, in which the Kaśmīris largely participated ; it is perhaps because this coincided with an eclipse in relations between Indian and Tibetan Buddhists that we are in such uncertainty about its date.

Tibetan translations inform us that Prajñākaragupta, Yamāri and Śankarānanda were condiscipled (*Mdo*, *C*) and that the *paramaguru kalyāṇamitrā* Prajñākaragupta was the

9. *Inde Classique*, t. II, § 1663, German translation of W. KIRFLEL and L. HILGENBERG.

teacher of Ravigupta (*Mdo*, CIV, I and CVIII, 3). Inspite of the defiance which Tāranātha incites in us, it is therefore his chronology we will adopt in the present case, at least provisionally and with all reservations : it is coherent and in any case nothing arises to weaken it. Like the translation of the *Pramāṇavarttikālaṅkāra*, he makes Prañākaragupta, Yamāri and Śaṅkarānanda contemporaries, Jñānaśrī being very much more recent ; as to Ravigupta the *tārkika*, pupil of Prajñākaragupta, he would be a contemporary of Ratnavajra and Nāropā.[10] The absolute chronology itself is worthy of being taken into consideration : Prañākaragupta and his condisciples would have lived during the reign of Mahīpāla[11], which nearly coincides with that of Glaṅ Dar-ma (841-901 ?) ; in any case Prajñākaragupta could not be later than the 10th century, since Udayanācārya mentioned him in his *Tātparya-śuddhi*.[12] Ravigupta would have lived during the regency of Caṇaka (about 960-990) and Jñānaśrī during the reign of Nayapāla who was crowned just when Atīśa left for Tibet (towards 1040). This last indication confirms what we otherwise know about Jñānaśrī, diligent collaborator of the *lo-cā-ba* of Zaṅs-dkar.

The author of the *Blue Annals*[13] presents a transmission of the *Pramāṇavārttika* (that is to say, of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*), which it is interesting to reproduce, from Diṅnāga (commencement of the 6th

10. *T.N.*, 243.
11. *T.N.*, 230.
12. According STCHERBATSKY, Tāranātha would date Prajñākaragupta from the 11th century (*Buddhist Logic*, p. 43). The Russian scholar proposes, in fact, to enliken the Mahāpāla of Tāranātha to the Nayapāla of the charts. In addition he adds that this datation could not possibly be correct, since Prajñākaragupta is quoted by Udayanācārya who lived in the 10th century (*Pariśuddhi*, p. 730). The assimilation suggested by Stcherbatsky is perfectly impossible (see panel II). Mahāpāla is, according to Tāranātha, strictly before Caṇaka, under whom lived the great "guardians of the gate" (end of 10th century). As to Nayapāla (about 1040-1060), that is the Nayapāla of Tāranātha, second successor from Caṇaka.
13. *B.A.*, 346.

century ?) upto Śākyaśrībhadra and his pupil Kun-dga' rgyal-mchan dpal bzaṅ-po (1179-1249) :

1. Diṅnāga;	9. Ravigupta;
2. Īśvarasena;	10. Yamāri;
3. Dharmakīrti;	11. Jñānaśrīmitra;
4. Devendrabodhi;	12. Dharmottara;
5. Śākyabodhi;	13. Śaṅkarānanda;
6. Vinītadeva;	14. Waṃku paṇḍita;
7. Dharmakīrti;	15. Kha-che paṇ-chen Śākyaśrī;
8. Prajñākaragupta;	16. Sa-skya paṇḍita.

This list contains at least one flagrant error : Dharmottara (no. 12), one has seen, belongs to the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century; now, Jñānaśrīmitra, who is presented as his predecessor (no. 11) is a writer of the 11th century. One could, in ever so small a degree, accept the above list, if Dharmottara were found in the 7th position in place of the second Dharmakīrti; that second Dharmakīrti remains someone enigmatic, in all probability different from the teacher of Atīśa, native of Suvarṇadvīpa,[14] and to whom it is not possible to assign the authorship of any work.[15]

In his writings on Buddhist logic Th. Stcherbatsky presents a panel of all the commentators of Dharmakīrti.[16] He distinguishes three schools :

1. The philological school, which limits itself to literal explanation of the works of the master-teacher, and which is comprised of Devendrabuddhi, Śākyabuddhi and Vinītadeva;
2. The Kaśmīri school of philosophical or critical tendency, which includes Dharmottara, Jñānaśrī, and Śaṅkarānanda;
3. The religious school, which takes in Prajñākaragupta, his pupil Ravigupta, Yamāri, student (according to Stcherbatsky) of the Kaśmīri Jñānaśrī, and the enigmatic Jaya.

14. G. COEDES, *Les Etats hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1964, p. 259, f.n. I.
15. It is possible to wonder, although nothing, at the present time, confirms that hypothesis if, by reason of his talent of logician, Dharmottara had not been surnamed the "second Dharmakīrti" through a play upon words on his name, interpreted "the Dharma (kīrti) following". Indian and Tibetan Buddhists have that kind of appellation, and Śaṅkarānanda was, we are, told, considered as "a second Dharmakīrti" (*Mdo*, CXII, 21 : *Chos-kyi grags-pa gñis-pa*). The personality of Dharmottara would thus have founds itself doubled, and that is what would explain that Gzon-nu dpal, after having mentioned that author under his surname at his correct chronological place, quoted him again between two celebrated Kaśmīri logicians, two centuries and a half later.
16. *Buddhist logic*, pp. 39-47.

That classification is doubtless valuable in respect to the tendencies of the comments; historically it could not be satisfying : it separates some authors who were very nearly contemporaries and worked in the same environment (Vinītadeva and Dharmottara); of the three schools, two at least include some Kaśmīri writers; the three do so if Ravigupta is actually a Kaśmīri; finally, it does not seem that Yamāri was a pupil of Jñānaśrībhadra, which would require that Yamāri lived at the extreme end of the 11th century. In any case, one does not see from where Stcherbatsky has been able to take that information.

Moreover, it does not seem that there was reason to distinguish two Jñānaśrī, as does Stcherbatsky (p. 42, f.n.). Tāranātha, who was somewhat inclined to double personalities, only mentions one Jñānaśrīmitra (p. 108). On that point, see below, chap. VI, pp. 221-223.

One has therefore certain reasons for assigning provisionally to the 10th century three monumental works, which are the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra* of Prajñākaragupta, commentary in sixty sections of the *Pramāṇavārttikakārikā* of Dharmakīrti, a work of which the Tibetan translation occupies more than two volumes (1, 450 p.) ; the commentary by Yamāri of this commentary of Prajñākaragupta which occupies in the Tibetan translation, three volumes (2, 365 p.) ; the part commentary of the same *kārikā* by the Kaśmīri brahmin Śaṅkarānanda, 675 pages long in translation (*Mdo*, CIII). Finally, the *Alaṅkāra* of Prajñākaragupta has been the subject of a commentary by a certain Rgyal-ba-can (1616 pages in translation : *Mdo*, CI-CII). P. Cordier presents the name of that author in the form of Jina, but the Mongolian index gives the form Jaya, which is the customary designation of Jayaśrī, Kaśmīri logician of the second half of the 11th century.

It is certainly a pity that we should know so litttle concerning those master-teachers. About them we are reduced to conjectures of extreme fragility. For example, regarding Yamāri it is known that there was in Kaśmīr a Yamārivihāra (*Mdo*, LXIX-LXX, 1), from which it can be assumed that it was founded by a Yamāri, and was where Jayaśrī worked. But that name is too prevalent in Buddhism to attach importance to that homonym.

As to Ravigupta, pupil of Prajñākaragupta, who would belong to the generation known as "the six guardians of the

door" (see below, p. 159 f.n. 20 author of another commentary on the *Pramāṇavārttikakārikā* (*Pramāṇavārttikā-tṛtīyaparivarta-ṭīkā* and *-dvitīyaparivartavṛtti* (*Mdo*, CIV, I and CVIII, 3; 673 pages in translation), the references to his Kaśmīri origin are always subject to caution. Confusion with the worshipper of the Tārā, who lived in the 8th century, is indeed easy and frequent : it is thus that Satis Candra Vidyābhūṣaṇa makes of Ravigupta the great introducer of the study of logic in Tibet in the 8th century. Tāranātha, who distinguishes the two masters correctly (p. 147 and p. 243) expresses himself on this point in a unprecise manner.[17] For us let it be sufficient to state that Kaśmīr, and her intellectual dependency which was western Tibet, participated brilliantly in the expansion of the study of logic in the 11th century. Indeed, among the four great commentators whose names are so often associated, and who are doubtless at the source of that renewal of interest, one at least was a Kaśmīri of brahmin caste.

Śaṅkarānanda is the only one of those logicians about whom Tibetan historians furnish any biographical information. Bde-byed dga'-ba [Śaṅkarānanda] of Kaśmīr receives the titles of *paramopāsaka mahāpaṇḍita brāhmaṇa* and he is "considered as a second Dharmakīrti" (*Mdo*, CXII, 21) (*chos-kyi grags-pa gñis-pa*). According to Tāranātha, he belonged to a family of Kaśmīri brahmins.[18] That was a very learned man, in love with logic : it is permissible to wonder if he is not the same as Śaṅkarabhadra, who received from Abhinavagupta the *Yuddhajayārṇavatantra Svarodaya nāma* and the *Svarodayalagnaphalopadeśa*.[19] The story of his hypothetical conversion becomes apparent through the following narrative, passed on by Tāranātha.[20] Śaṅkarānanda

17. That is at least what seems to resort from Schiefner's translation : "Von dieser Zeit angefangen, wurde in Kaśmīra die Logik sehr verbreitet, und es lebte auch der Dialektiker Ravigupta" (p. 243). Besides, the Tibetan historian has been able, without confusing the men, to confuse their origin. Let us add that a Kaśmīri Ravigupta would have been the master-teacher of Dam-pa saṅs-rgya (see below, p. 173).
18. *T.N.*, 247, 349; see also *P.S.J.Z.*, 107, 120.
19. See above, pp. 120-121.
20. *T.N.*, 248.

had the ambition to refute Dharmakīrti, which allows us to suppose that he was not yet a Buddhist. But in a dream Mañjuśrī appeared and showed him it was not fitting to refute an *ārya* and that, if he were perceiving some error in Dharmakīrti, the fault lay not in Dharmakīrti but in the poverty of his own understanding. Seized with repentance, Śaṅkarānanda decided to write a commentary on the *Pramāṇavārttika*, which procured for him honour and riches. Four of his writings, of which the original Sanskrit is lost, are preserved in Tibetan translation in the *Mdo-'grel.* The most important is the *Pramāṇavārttikāṭīkā* (*Mdo*, CIII, 675 p.), commentary "in the grain of the text" [*yathālabdhānusāra*] of the work of Dharmakīrti. The *Saṃbandhaparīkṣānusāra* (*Mdo*, CXII, 2, 34 p.) is a commentary on the *Saṃbandhaparīkṣāprakaraṇa* (*Mdo*, XCV, 14), equally attributed to Dharmakīrti, which in Tibetan translation occupies only a page and four lines. As mentions the author from the initial blessing, the *Apohasiddhi* (*Mdo*, CXII, 20, 45 p.) deals with the problem of distinction between oneself and other people, with the help of the doctrine of the *apoha*, that is to say, of the exclusion (of contradictories). Finally, the *Pratibandhasiddhi* (*Mdo*, CXII, 21) (a little more than two pages), according to the title, ought to deal with causal succession.

This brief estimate, summary and vague as it is, proves that one could not underestimate the importance of logic in the thinking of later Buddhism : there we have a subject understood in satisfying manner, thanks above all to the writings of Th. Stcherbatsky. But, from that importance has been inferred the existence of a Buddhistic rationalism. This is the thesis defended by the Russian scholar : there would have been a Buddhism, peculiar to certain logicians, which does not consider revelation as a criterion of knowledge. It seems that this may go very much further. On one hand the logicians are not rationalists, they are themselves also—without wishing to deny the diversity of inclinations placed in evidence by Stcherbatsky—believers, for whom Buddhistic truth is dependent on faith. Only the truth revealed by the Buddha concerns the natural order of the world, and reasoning, if it is judiciously exercised, ought to permit our feeble intelligence to

discover in part what appears in full light to the penetrating lucidity of the Buddha and Bodhisattva.

On the other hand, the term "logic" that we use is very insufficient, for "logicians" are not occupied exclusively with validity of lines of argument. In the Tibetan canon their writings are classified under the rubric *gtan-chigs rig-pa* [*hetuvidyā*] "science of causes". Buddhism proclaiming itself in its origins a description of the universal process of enchainment of cause and effect, it would be at broadest the whole of Buddhism which could range itself under that appellation. The word *hetu*, is it not the same as that used by the old pāli formula *ye dhammā hetuppabhavā* in order to describe the teaching of the Mahāsamaṇo ?

Dharmakīrti for his part, at the beginning of the *Pramāṇavārttika*, defined the law of actuality through its efficiency, in terms which moreover have a resonance strangely modern. Logic tends to annex to itself psychology and metaphysics, and one is not surprised to see the treatises of Dharmottara concerning the mental series in the other world or the discontinuity of instants considered as works of logic. Logic also acts as support for activities which one would be inclined to oppose to it, by qualifying them as mystic sciences : the process of production of effects ought to be the object of a penetrating analysis on the part of practitioners of the Mantranaya. One of the essential exercises of methods known as "tantric", is it not mental "production" designated by the name of *bhāvanā*, formed on the very root *bhū*-which is found again in the word *hetuppabhava* ? To the extent that late Buddhism, inheritor of *mādhyamika* thinking, forces itself to show the illusory character of the actual, and attaches itself to processes of *utpatti*- (production) and *sampannakrama* (reabsorption), which suscitates and dissolves that illusion, it is conceivable that examination of the sequence of cause and effect plays in such a system a role as important as the physical study of the actual in a vision of the world which considers as valid and objective the gifts of the senses. Appearances are unanimously considered by our writers as a reflection (*pratibhāsa*), in the absence of all authentic reality

(*paramārtha*),[21] as Haribhadra explains so well in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*.[22] From this fact, the same logic applies itself to all the appearances provided by or destitute of reality :

tasmād bhūtam abhūtam vā yad yad evābhibhānyate
bhāvanāparinispattau tat sphuṭākalpadhīphalam
(*P.V.*, II, 285, P. 76.)

"Then all which is manifested clearly in the course of mental process, be it real or unreal, is fruit of the blossom of idealistic thinking."

"TANTRISM" and "MANTRAYĀNA"

In face of the distinction previously proposed by Stcherbatsky of three groups of theses, those of the Lesser Vehicule, those of the Greater Vehicle and those of the logicians "rationalists", one currenty encounters division of Buddhism into three "vehicles" : Lesser, Greater and Diamond Vehicle or the tantric Vehicle. For example, S. C. Das[23] summarises

21. The word *paramārtha* is frequently used in a rather different sense at a more ancient date. For example in the *Samādhirājasūtra, paramārthaśūnyatāsamādhivara* signifies according to the translation and commentary of Jean FILLIOZAT (Course de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris, 1964) : "The excellent position of the psychism (in which the conscience is on guard) of vacuity as the supreme sense" (*Parivarta* 29, *śl.* 116). But, interpreted as a compound of type *bahuvṛhi, paramārtha* can mean "of which the signification is supreme", and during the Middle Ages the word implies a concept bordering on what western philosophy calls absolute. It is thus that two Kaśmīris, at the commencement of the 11th century write of works entitled *Paramārthasara* and *Paramārthasaṅgraha*. One, Abhinavagupta, is Śivaite, the other, Nāropā, is Buddhist. Whatever be the technicality of the vocabulary, the words could not be deprived of acceptation in changing mouth; they can all the more take upon themselves some new intentional meaning. *Paramārthaśūnyatā* would then almost mean "(which identifies) vacuity and the absolute" : the interpretation purely *mādhyamika* has undergone a subtle inflection, and the same texts have, for their readers, changed senses. Haribhadra (and Ravigupta ?) thus prepare directly the identification of the concepts of *śūnyata* and of *citta*. (*Cf.* below, f.n. 43).
22. ***Bibliotheca Buddhica***, 23, p. 389.
23. ***Dictionnire***, p. 586.

the different tendencies of the *Mahāyāna* in a panel which is the most complete proposed upto the present and which therefore merits to be reproduced (in the form which Shahidullah gives it) in order to serve as point of departure to a discussion.[24]

- Mahāyāna
  - Pāramitāyāna
    - Yogācārya
    - Mādhyamika
  - Mantrayāna (or Vajrayāna)
    - Nimnatantra śreṇi
      - Kriyātantra
      - Caryātantra
    - Uccatantra śreṇi
      - Yoga-tantra
      - Anuttara-yogatantra

It is high time to compare with this data what we know about Kaśmīri Buddhism : for example, under which heading will we put a Ravigupta, to whom the Tārā revealed a *sādhana* susceptible to make her appear, and his disciple Sarvajñāmitra, *mūlasarvāstivādin* and *vaibhāṣika* ? Are these adepts of "tantrism" ? In fact, this kind of classification, which has the illusory advantage of masking over ignorance, dissimulates the animated and often very subtle complexity of the tendencies : it procures a fallacious satisfaction instead of inciting to a remission in question and to a deepening of the knowledge acquired.

Now, if there is a subject which requires this effort, it is indeed what is called "tantrism". That mediaeval religious movement, when it has not been ignored as degeneracy unworthy of the attention of historians and philosophers, has been stigmatised with extreme severity ; about it, objective examination and judgement of value are often mingled.

"It is a serious symptom" affirms La Vallée Poussin, "that, at a certain epoch, starting from the 11th century history

24. *Les chants mystiques de Kāṇha et Saroha*, in. 8°, 236 p., Paris, 1928, p. 16.

counts ten sorcerers for one doctor." And what sorcerers! "Erotomaniac sorcerers" who "pretend to identify themselves through love of the sorceresses adored as feminine Buddha" in the "body of the great happiness or of thunder". "Sometimes the ascestic...... imagines himself to enter, as an embryo, into the womb of the wife of the Buddha, and very soon, become Buddha, he uses magic weapons to cast aside his father and take his place; sometimes the sorcerer identifies himself with the feminine divinity", that Alfred Foucher describes thus : "Standing and ripped towards the right, terrifying, letting hang a garland of chopped heads, dwarf and corpulent, terrible, dazzling (with the tint) from the blue lotus : she has a face and three eyes; supernatural she bursts into a course terrifying laugh; all shivering with joy, she is mounted on a corpse and adorned with eight serpents; her eyes are red and round : she is in the flower of youth".[25] "It is not possible" adds La Vallée Poussin "to find women adorned with three eyes red and round, but the texts recommend to choose a female partner who lacks a limb, who is hideous, despised, of adject caste. No infamy, including incest, is forgotten in the cult of the woman (*strīpūjā*), supreme divinity. Also that literature has revolted all the Europeans who have ventured into it : as soon as one is seized by its voluntarily enigmatic language, one wonders that the research of the horrible for the horrible and of the absurd for the absurd has been able to be pushed so far".[26]

The thesis, exposed here by the Belgian scholar with singular evocative power is not peculiar to him : already the verdict of Eugéne Burnouf was as severe, and if he did not insist, it was pure discretion. Moreover, that passage, which we are cutting from its context, is nuanced on the one hand by the affirmation that all this "tantrism" is placed in a perspective affirming the irreality of everything; on the other hand, by a conclusion which reintroduces the essential idea of paradox. "However, we do not believe that all is impure in that erotic

25. *Iconographie Bouddhique*, p. 76
26. *Bouddhisme. Opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique*, by Louis de LA VALLEE POUSSIN, pp. 409 and 404-405.

theosophy or rather, that it is not susceptible to honest interpretation : one has often had occasion to notice it, contradiction is one of the laws of Hindu thought, and tantrism does not shun it."

Thus there are numerous authors who judge what they call "tantrism", placing it turn by turn on the plane of the relative and on the plane of the absolute, that of the *saṃvṛttisatya* and that of the *paramārtha*, and who pass without warning, and one would say without noticing, from one perspective to the other. B. Bhattacharyya writes well : "Verily, the Yogī who has grasped the real truth, who has realized Śūnya, to him the whole world appears as a drama without a ıeal substratum; before him the duality in the world disappears and all things are to him more appearances".[27] Does this say that, on the plane of the "truth of envelopement", the Guhyasamāja "definitely" requests its adepts to "disregard" all the social laws ?[28] Does this mean that the Guhyasamāja offers to adepts of Buddhism, desiring a procedure well adopted for obtaining the state of Buddha, "a magical formula to obtain the final liberation"?[29]

Jean Filliozat, taking bearings on knowledge acquired about late Buddhism, expresses himself in terms at the same time more precise and more varied : "What must have been abhorrent to the faithful of early Buddhism is inoffensive for the adept of the Tantra who has recognised the inanity of it and who can even use it symbolically in order to confirm from that world, in course of an action no longer repugnant to him, the consciousness of his access to the transcendant domain of supreme reality."[30] It is not necessary to violate moral teaching, but "it is becoming necessary to escape from the constraint of all moral and all natural repulsion. The *yogin* will not only have to drink alcohol, in violation of the moral code, but also to lick urine and excrement. Psychiaters can see there the result of known perversions, and it is certain

27. *Gubyasamājatantra*, XIII.
28. *Ibid.*, XIII.
29. *Ibid.*, XIV.
30. *L'Inde Classique*, II, p. 587.

that those who are smitten by those perversions are predisposed to utilise similar techniques. Nevertheless, those techniques have been taught, learnt and dogmatically justified, they can then have been put into practice by normal subject carried away by the authority of the *guru*, surroundings, atmosphere, example, and by the exalted perspective of the ends to be attained".[31]

Results from all this that it would be fitting to start again to extract from the texts the examination of late Buddhism, asking oneself what tantrism could actually have been and even doubtless if tantrism really existed. Did not H. V. Guenther go so far as to write : "The philosophical significance of mantrayāna has been much obscured by irresponsibly applying to it the name "tantrism", probably one of the haziest notions and misconceptions the Western mind has evolved"?[32] For his part, Jean Filliozat who, since the publication of the *Manuel des études indiennes*, has pursued his research on that subject, in particular concerning Śivaism, has denounced several times, and on the last occasion in his course at the College de France, the unsuitability of the word "tantrism".[33] A similar study of the whole subject would overflow the frame of this work. But it is not possible to ignore the serious problems roused by the word and the notion "tantrism", were it only to examine, on occasion, to what extent study of the Kaśmīri Buddhists can contribute towards elucidating them.

VOCABULARY

The first word about which it is importent to be understood is the word *yāna* itself, the uses of which have a vexatious tendency to multiply themselves : one speaks of *pāramitāyāna*, of *mantrayāna* ; B. Bhattacharyya even names the *kālacakrayāna* and the *sahājyayāna*. All those uses seem to border on inaccuracy, although Tibetan authors themselves give us the example. The word *yāna*, or its translation by "vehicle", often suggested to us a "corps" of doctrine, and

31. *Op. cit*,, II, p. 595.
32. *The life and teaching of Nāropā*, p. 102.
33. *Rauravāgama*, Introduction : "Les āgama civaïtes", p. VII; *Annuaire* du College de France, 64th year, p. 345.

this is why one finds it clumsy, indigent, and impressive at the same time : these examples prove that it ought to designate a system of religious life, a method of progression, as befits a vehicle, comprising practical and speculative aspects, and, in consequence of the *upāyakauśalya* which nuances the teaching of the Buddha, adopted to the actual characteristics of a psychosomatic individuality. In application its meaning is then very close to that of the word *naya*, with which it alternates, since one also says, in more precise manner, *pāramitānaya* and *mantranaya*, "practice" of the *pāramitā* or of the *mantra*. Moreover, it is well understood that, in course of one same existence or passing from one existence to another, it is possible to change vehicle. Besides, nothing permits to suppose that the thesis of the sole vehicle exposed in several *sūtra*—for example in the *Laṅkāvatāra* but above all developed in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*—has been abandoned :[34] only one sole vehicle and sole *nirvāṇa* exist, "there are not, O Kāśyapa, three vehicles, there are only some beings who act differrently from one another : it is because of this that one distinguishes three vehicles"[35], the three classical vehicles : that of the *śrāvaka*, that of the *pratyekabuddha* and the Greater Vehicle. Those who have for the time being adopted another vehicle, will one day find themselves in the only vehicle, the *mahāyāna*.

It is then abusive to speak of *mantrayāna* and of *vajrayāna* ? Assuredly not, since those terms, as one is going to see, have been used by Indian texts from the 11th century.[36] But what ought to be exactly their application ?

The word *vajra* has been used by Buddhists for a very long time, and its most venerable antique appearance figures in the title of a *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, the *Vajracchedikā*, which is often translated by "the cleaver of diamond". The intention is clear : the word *vajra* evokes the destructive power of the dialectics of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* which, by fine dissection, reduces appearences to nothing as efficaciously as

34. Already in the *Satipaṭṭhānasutta*, the Buddha was affirming ; "*Ekāyano ayaṃ bhikkhave maggo...*"
35. BURNOUF, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 81.
36. And even earlier, in what concerns the *mantrayāna*.

repeated thunderbolts would do it. Consequently, the semantic evolution is evident : *vajra* designates that which subsists when appearances no longer exist, that is to say, vacuity, indestructible as the diamond. This is a point well established and well known, and it is sufficient to recall some reference. The *Advayavajrasaṅgraha*[37] offers a very explicit comment on that choice of the word *vajra* to indicate vacuity :

dṛdhaṃ sāram asauśīryam acchedyābhedyalakṣaṇam
adāhi avināśi ca śūnyatā vajram ucyate

"Firm, hard, impossible to crush, uncleavable and indivisible incombustible, indestructible : vacuity is called *vajra* "

Likewise the *Hevajratantra* defining from the beginning the *Vajrasattva*, explains that it is qualified as *vajra* because it cannot be split : *abhedyaṃ vajram ity uktam sattvaṃ tribhavasyaikatā*.[38] To tell the truth, that precision is not too clear, but the commentator Dharmakīrti, who was the teacher of Atīśa explains that it refers to a being which establishes itself in fundamental unity of the three *dhātu* which makes vacuity.

The quotations could be multiplied. It is more interesting to mention, because of its date (2nd century ?) a strange signpost on the way leading to generalisation of the use of the word *vajra*. In the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*,[39] Vimalakīrti explains that the body of the *Tathāgata* is "hard as diamond", and a little further on, the text specifies that this body, other worldly (*lokottara*) is the *dharmakāya* the "body of the Law". *Vajra* therefore qualifies what is situated on the plane of the *dharma*. on the plane of the unconditioned, that of perfect *prajñā*, of vacuity.

But, when, at an epoch when vacuity of all the *dharma* has become a dogma, ought not the name of *Vajrayāna* to designate the whole of the Greater Vehicle ? This is what, at the 11th century, a passage from the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* perhaps

37. *G.O.S.*, XL, p. 37.
38. *Hevajra Tantra*, I, 1, 4, DHARMAKIRTI, *The commentary of Dharmakīrti* is quoted by Snellgrove.
39. III, 43 sq.

permits to be thought. At the commencement of that important commentary, Nāropā speaks of the "secret *Vajrayāna* superior to two vehicles of the Auditors and of the Each-for-himself" :

Guhyaṃ śrāvakapratyekayānayor uttaraṃ vajrayānam.[40]

The distinction of the three vehicles is absolutely classic in the *Mahāyānasūtra* : only the name of *Vajrayāna* is substituted for that of *Mahāyāna.*

Nāropā's contemporaries, despite the novelty and importance of the revelations they brought, used to content themselves with pursuing a line of traditional research, open to full interpretation of the scriptures. They were disposed to regard as canonical any "apocalypse", in contrast to the adepts of the Lesser Vehicle, faithful to teaching regarded, wrongly or rightly, as integrally revealed by the Buddha of history. Certainly, Tibetan Buddhism, and even that of the Indian teacher with whom we are occupying ourselves, is different from the Buddhism of Nāgārjuna or of Asaṅga, and it is legitimate, although delicate, to want to underline that difference by means of the terminology. Certainly, the word *Vajrayāna* is legitimately applicable to late Indian Buddhism and to Tibetan Buddhism. But it seems that from the moment it was introduced into the Indian vocabulary, it could also designate the Buddhism of Nāgārjuna or of Asaṅga, and that far from opposing itself to the Mahāyāna as the latter opposes itself to the Hīnayāna, it is not conscious of being different from it.

As to the word *guhya* applied to the Vajrayāna, it does not only recall that the Mahāyāna has not been conveyed clearly by the Buddha to the first *śrāvaka* : it assuredly alludes to the *upāyakauśalya* which requires a prudent gradation in the revelation of the truth. By virtue of his "cleverness in the use of the means employed" the Buddha used to adopt his language to the subject treated and to the facilities of his hearers.[41] His disciples have, more than ever, one will see it

40. *G.O.S.*, XC, p. 1, line 15.
41. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, transl. BURNOUF, p. 78.

from the following, the duty to proceed according to that example whence the famous "intentional language", the *sandhābhāṣā* which creates so many difficulties for translators, and the "signs of recognition" enumerated in the *Hevajra-tantra*.[42]

Moreover we do not pretent that all mediaeval Buddhists, Indian or Tibetan, have understood *Vajrayāna* in that sense : the word *vajra*, which has been used and abused, was among those which frequently surround a magic aureole. And the word *śūnyatā* itself, had it really the same meaning for Nāgārjuna and for Nāropā ? Certainly not. The concepts most signified—that of *śūnyatā* would indeed have been on, thanks to the efforts of Nāgārjuna and of his disciples, immovable as the diamond !—are themselves also susceptible to evolving. Several teachers, and among them Haribhadra, commentator of the *Prajñāpāramitā* in a *vijñānavādin* perspective, and still more Ravigupta, to believe Tāranātha,[43] have contributed to bring closer together the theses of the authors Mādhyamika and Yogā-cāra and to indentify, despite repeated warnings from Nāgārjuna, from his predecessors and from his immediate successors, their respective concepts of the supreme reality, *śūnyatā* and *citta*.

The word *Mantrayāna* cannot pretent to such a wide extension of interpretation. The Mantrayāna was the object of the third setting in motion of the Wheel of the Law by the historic Buddha at Dhānyakaṭaka, following the predications of the Mṛgadāva and of the Gṛdhrakūṭa. At the beginning of the *Kālacakratantra*, Tathāgata and Bodhisattva are presented to us assembled and desiring to hear the Mantrayāna expounded : *mantrayānaśrutārthinaḥ (Sekoddeśaṭīkā, iti mūlatantre)*.[44] In reality, the Mantrayāna englobes above all an ensemble of methods of psychosomatic order, the range of which has been immoderately exaggerated. Speculation about

42. I, VII, 1-7.
43. The *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* is often considered as commentary of "mādhyamika-Yogācāra" type. Moreover, Tāranātha affirms that Ravigupta, the worshipper of the Tārā, declared that the viewpoints of Nāgārjuna and of Asaṅga were identical (*T.N.*, p. 147).
44. *G.O.S.*, XC, p. 2.

this is not absent : but it is not essential to it. Also one bestows on it more correctly the name of "practice of the *mantra*" (*mantranaya*) as opposed to the "practice of the *pāramitā*" (*pāramitānaya*) in the same way as the Tibetans oppose the "manner of the *mantra*" (*sṅags lugs*) to the "manner of the *sūtra*" (*mdo lugs*). This is the language used by the *Tattvaratnāvali*,[45] which presents the teaching of the *mantra* as more difficult than that of the other *śāstra* and reserved to an elite, although projected towards the same aim ; we are far from the path of facility imagined by B. Bhattacharyya, where the so-called Tantrism enlikened to the *mantranaya*, is presented as "some easy process to obtain buddhahood".[46]

At the risk of appearing exaggeratedly scrupulous and because of the ambiguity of the uses—historical and dogmatical—of the word *yāna*, we are then adopting the name of *mantranaya* in preference to *mantrayāna* in order to designate within the Mahāyāna, the method of progression generally called, in modern writing, "Tantric Buddhism" or "Vehicle of the Diamond", and which englobes differing techniques conducive to a "mastery" (*saṃvara*) of the whole of the individuality, or rather in a Buddhistic perspective, of the psychosomatic agregate (*kāyavākcitta*). Those techniques clothe, in the wider sense, the aspect of rituals : the works classified among the commentaries of the *tantra* (*rgyud-'grel*) describe many rituals, *maṇḍalavidhi*, *sādhanavidhi*, *abhiṣeka-vidhi*, etc. All these exercises were, moreover, known in Buddhism before the phase of evolution which one is accustomed to call Tantric : *vidyādhāraṇi* and *mantra* have been existing at least since the first centuries of the Christian era ; some *maṇḍala* were attested in China in the 4th century.

Would remain to explain how the name of one technique among others, the recitation of *mantra*, has been able to apply itself to the whole. The central position of *vāc*- between *kāya* and *citta*, which makes of the word a psychosomatic phenomenon par excellence (without forgetting the audio-visual aspect of the *akṣara*) is not foreign to it. But the problem is assuredly very much more complex : it involves all the

45. *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, p. 21.
46. *Guhyasamāja*, p. XIV.

theory which is not only nor above all Buddhistic[47]—of phonemies.

DOCTRINE

It is quite out of the question to recall what the Mantranaya consists of on the practical plane and the speculations which accompany it on the dogmatic plane. Then, all the more is it proper to emphasise its antiquity ; the practice of Buddhistic *yoga* in various forms, all tending to discipline the psychophysiological whole, has been carried on for many centuries by those known as *yogācārin*; as has just been seen, utilisation of *mantra* and *maṇḍala* goes back to an epoch anterior to the accession of the Gupta. Meditation on the corpse has been practised by innumerable monks before finding expression in literary art, thanks to the beautiful text, often cited, of Śāntideva. There are the ceremonies, reserved nevertheless for some of the initiated, accompanied by consumption of meat and wine, and especially "sexual rites", on the part of Buddhists, which have caused surprise, so it seems, inspite of the fact that the *maithunapravṛtti*, of which Asaṅga speaks, could constitute a prefiguration, but nothing is less sure.

As to the interest accorded to complementary aspects of progression which constitute wisdom and practical method, *prajñā* and *upāya*, it is very natural in Buddhism and well stressed in several *mahāyānasūtra*. The conception of those two aspects as a couple is already in germ in a Sogdian text.[48]

However, it is necessary to wash from the Mantranaya the accusation of heresy more or less graded brought against it by several eminent specialists of Buddhistic studies. Because finally, if we do not go further, it would be possible to accuse us of vain verbal disputes and, in whatever manner one designates the self-styled Tantrism, the texts on which lean the not very laudatory descriptions given about it are there, and if sometimes they remain obscure, they are often, despite the *upāyakauśalya*, very clear. But one can grapple with those

47. See, in particular, André PADOUX, *Recherches sur la symbolique et l'énergie de la parole dans certains texts tantriques*, Paris, 1963.

48. See above, § III, n. 12.

texts in different states of understanding. The basic error consists in judging from the viewpoint of truth of envelopment what is said from viewpoint of absolute truth. Now, and therein resides the central difficulty, the speculation which accompanies the Mantranaya affirms that those two planes are not distinct. Yet it is not legitimate that those who have not "realised" that identity, who are not living it, who have not once and for all established their psychosomatic agregate on the unique plane of vacuity, should persist in confusing them.

The modes of expression of the mediaeval texts are frequently scandalous and paradoxical. Neither moral laxity nor logical incoherence is there. In India throughout the ages, scandal and paradox have been a mode of expression of transcendence. Complex reality goes beyond our mental and verbal categories; to place words in contradiction with themselves is equivalent to a certain way of expressing the indescribable. Our texts simply go very much further than those which have preceded them, and that—one could not emphasise it too much—with an aim in some degree pedagogic : old modes of expression wear themselves out in the long run, they have no longer the traumatising force expected from them. An ancient work, which no-one dreams of qualifying as *tantra*, like the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, for its part in application of that method excels, and it is not for nothing that it also bears title (so well commented on by Etienne Lamotte) of *Yamakavyatyastābhinirhāra* "production of couples and of inversions". Those "couples and inversions" mentioned also in the *Avataṃsaka*, arise from the *upāyakauśalya*, from the pedagogic aptitude of the Buddha and Bodhisattva.

Research of the immoral and of the absurd is not then gratuitous, as certain historians pretend to believe and have perhaps believed. It concerns a systematically applied method with a double purpose : to affirm the transcendence of the plane of the *dharma* and of the *nirvāṇa*, to set disciples on that plane, wresting them from opinions : all opinions are false, *mithyādṛṣti* and *abhūtadarśana*. But very soon it is fitting to retouch those modes of approximative expression, underlining what is perhaps the essential viewpoint of adepts of the Mantranaya : *nirvāṇa* is the true "manner of existing" of all beings, one could say the *tathatā* per excellence, since "manner of existing" is one

of the possible meanings of the *tathatā* which Etienne Lamotte adopts in his translations : the "manners of being" conditioned are in fact perfectly illusory. It is then vain to distinguish *nirvāṇa* and *samsāra*—they are woven one with the other but as would be a thread of gold and a thread of hemp, or rather an imperishable and unqualifiable thread and an inexistant thread.[49]

Paradoxes ? Long ago the Greater Vehicle could have been accused of desiring to convert non-existant beings. Is it possible to believe that our Boddhisattva were unconscious of Etienne Lamotte quotes a passage from the *Avataṃsaka* where it is already explained that the Bodhisattva :

—dwells in *nirvāṇa;* manifests the *saṃsāra*;
—remains plunged in ecstasy; plays with objects of desire;
—is perfectly appeased; seems to experience passions;
—knows there are no beings; tries to convert them.[50]

Kalhaṇa is indignant that there should be married monks, but was not Vimalakīrti pretending to have a son, a wife (*bhāryā*), a harem (*antaḥpura*) ? Nevertheless he always remained chaste.[51] One can very well wear the dress of a layman (*avadātavasana*) and observe the conduct of a religious (*śramaṇacarita*).[52] From the time of Hiouan-ts'ang, the monks of Orissa were accusing their Nālandā colleagues of being *kāpalika*. But why not ? Vimalakīrti indeed used to go "after straying heretics" (*carakapāṣaṇḍikagaveṣin*) while all the time keeping an "indefectible attachment"[53] to the Buddha. Did not Nāropā and Tillopā frequent taverns ? Vimalakīrti used to show himself in houses of prostitution (*veśyāgṛha*) and

49. There is, from one to the other "continuity": according to several texts quoted by Guenther (*Life and teaching of Nāropā*, pp. 112-123, in particular p. 120) that would be the meaning of the word *tantra*.
50. Introduction to *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti*,: Louvain, 1962, in -4°, XV-488, p. 36, according to the Chinese translation of Śikṣānanda, except for the last proposition.
51. *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, trad. E. LAMOTTE, II, 3, p. 127.
52. *Ibid.*, II, 3, p. 127.
53. *Ibid.*, II, 3, p. 128.

in cabarets (*śauṇḍikagṛha*); but that was in order to convert luxury-lovers and drunkards, in the same way as he used to haunt the game terraces and the casinos (*krīḍādyūtasthāna*) in order to "develop beings attached to amusements and games of chance".[54] Moreover, "in order to capture immoral beings (*duhśīla*) he used to observe a pure morality (*par.śuddhaśīla*).[55] Even so, did he not only seem to take nourishment (*anna*) and drink (*pāna*), while all the time nourishing himself exclusively with "the taste of ecstasies" (*dhyānarasa*) ?[56]

The *Guhyasamāja* does not only affirm that incest is indispensable as preparation for *nirvāṇā*, it declares that even incestuous persons can obtain *nirvāṇa*. And how would it be otherwise, since the whole world is in fact established outside time in the *nirvāṇa*, the unique reality ? Variety of appearanccs covers a profound identity. The *Pañcakrama* defines it well, in a passage to which repetition gives an eloquence insistant, almost haunting :— that

Likewise what touches the enemy, likewise what touches oneself,
Likewise the spouse, likewise the daughter one has engendered,
Likewise the mother, likewise the courtisan,
The ballerina and the brahmin,
The garment and the beast-skin,
The jewel and the pellet of chaff,
Urine and liquor,
Likewise nourishment, likewise excrement,
Likewise perfumed camphor, likewise pestilential odours,
Songs of praise and blasphemy;
Likewise Rudra, the thunder-bearer, the night and the day,
The dream and the vigil, what is destroyed and what subsists,
Happiness and suffering, the traitor and the son,
Likewise hell, likewise heaven, likewise merit and sin.[57]

Besides, how would the Bodhisatta go into the various worlds for the good of creatures, if not through the medium of karmic retribution, accomplishing deeds, including those which

54. *Ibid.*, II, 4, pp. 128-129.
55. *Ibid.*, II, 2, pp. 127.
56. *Ibid.*, II, 3, pp. 127-128.
57. *Yathātmani tathā śatrau yathā bhāryā tathātmajā*, VI, 30-34, according to the edition of L. de LA VALLEE POUSSIN, pp. 47-48.

involve immediate descent into hell ?[58] Such acts mature in confirmity with the universal law, but without leaving on it the least stain; just as (Jean Filliozat has well shown) one who is established in vacuity can give himself death by fire without infringing the prohibition against casting a slur on his days.[59]

The same reasoning can be applied in spheres very diverse. For example, B. Bhattacharyya declares that the "*tantra*" explicitly forbids the raising of *caitya* or the delineating of *maṇḍala* (*caitya-karma na kurvaita*),[60] but do not the same texts describe some *maṇḍala*, the manner of tracing them or of creating them mentally and using them ? Why say that "Tantrism" denounces ritual, when so many texts classed among commentaries on the *tantra* are texts of ritual ? On the contrary, it is a question of affirming successively two propositions of contradictory appearance, because of not being situated on the same plane : on the plane of the *dharma* "do not make *caitya*" signifies "no need at all to make *caitya*", because on the *dharma* plane, *caitya* do not exist. The *Hevajratantra* moreover confirms this irreality : "there is neither *yogin* (creating mentally) nor reality (to creat mentally), there is neither divinity nor *mantra*".[61] This does not mean that it is necessary to give up pronouncing some *mantra* or cease from creating mentally some *devatā* ! What it is possible to affirm is that, from the viewpoint of the "supreme sense", there is no fundamental difference between ritual action and profane action, moral or immoral.

The accusation of use of magic scarcely merits attentive examination : moreover the question has already been dealt with. It cannot be denied that the texts give numerous recipes using, in addition to the formula, certain objects and varied ingredients : the five products of the cow, oil, flowers, incense, urine, wine, snakes, knives, etc.[62] It is possible to think that this

58. *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, p. 285.
59. J. FILLIOZAT, La mort volontaire par le feu et la tradition bouddhique indienne, *J.A.*, CCLI, 1963, pp. 21-51.
60. *Guhyasamāja*, p. 143.
61. *Nāsti bhāvako na bhāvo'sti mantran nāsti na devatā* (I, V, II). "Their is neither meditation, nor whatso'er to meditate; there is neither god or *mantra*" (trad D.L. SNELLGROVE, p. 61).
62. See in particular chapter II and the 1st part of the *Hevajratantra*.

utilisation of magical processes is an adoptation in the milieu consistent with the *upāyakauśalya* : in the same way as the Bodhisattva makes himself a libertine in order to instruct libertines, he must make himself a magician in order to teach magicians. The recitals of conflicts between magicians, Buddhist and non-Buddhist, capable of leading to conversions, are numerous, and of these Padmasambhava's fight against the Bon-po is only the most famous example. But that is simply a primary aspect of the use of magic by Buddhistic master-teachers; it is necessary immediately to complete this exterior judgement, replacing it in the perspective of a Buddhist, for whom the entire universe is similar to a magic phenomenon, in order to take up a comparison sifted throughout centuries by the *sūtra*. The accessories of the operation—flesh, blood, excrement, urine—;the beings—friend or enemy—or the object—disease—on which the operation pretends to exercise an effect; the magician himself—the producer (*bhāvaka*) and the magical operation—production—;the motives—passion, hate, aberration envy, malignity, pride—are purely and simply mental constructions. One must not fail to remember this essential truth. Let us mention almost at random :

> In supreme sexual pleasure, there is neither production (*bhāva*) nor producer (*bhāvaka*), there is neither individuality, nor object, nor subject, nor flesh, nor blood, nor excrement, nor urine, nor disease, nor aberration, nor purification, nor passion, nor hate, nor bewilderment, nor envy, nor malignity, nor pride, nor the obvious, nor producer, nor production, there is neither friend nor enemy.[63]

It goes without saying that, on the plane of teaching, a practical illusion can only confirm that fundamental illusion. Magic entrains for the same reason as exercises in mental production, an experimental confirmation of universal vacuity.

Let us sum up once more the essential, because one cannot take up too often, under various forms, this rather delicate argumentation : the deliverance and state of Buddha are inherent at the same time in the *nirvāṇa* and in the *saṃsāra*, respectively (using western vocabulary too approximative)

63. *Hevajratantra*, I, X, 33-34.

under the ontological angle and under the psychological angle. It is this which permits Vimalakīrti to affirm that for the strayed the Buddha said : "Destruction of the *rāga, dveṣa, moha,* that is what is called deliverance"; but for those who are not bewildered he said : "*Rāga, dveṣa, moha,* are by themselves deliverance".[64] Passage particularly clear, which accompanies a commentary permitting to divine the resonances of the appellation *mantranaya* : phonemics, like deliverance, are neither interior nor exterior, nor both, and there is no deliverance which should be different from phonemics.[65]

INTERPRETATION

The most surprising propositions of the majority of the Buddhistic *tantra,* in particular those of which the name occurs most frequently in this work (*Guhyasamājatantra, Hevajratantra, Cakrasaṃvaratantra* and *Kālacakratantra*) can then be interprated or at least justified in strict orthodoxy. Is that to say they have always been thus understood ? That would indeed be astonishing.[66] With modern commentators they have given place to misunderstandings, but very rarely is one the first to make a misinterpretation : the shocks of the mediaeval history of Buddhism prove it, and more precisely the commentaries published on that occasion.

There are, moreover, two ways of misunderstanding the teaching of those books : being scandalised and turning away; adhering thereto literally. No doubt both errors have been committed. But those texts have not only excited laudable indignation in well-intentioned historians, in some monks from Sind and Ceylon who, in the 9th century, burned the books and destroyed the statue of Heruka,[67] but also in the assembly of Buddha and Bodhisattva before whom they were expounded. When the Buddha affirms that incestuous persons can obtain

64. *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, VI, 9, according to E. Lamotte, p. 274.
65. *Ibid.*, VI, 9, p. 273.
66. Some other *tantra* are of a precision and have an abundance of details which show a complacency unequivocally and out of proportion with the development of a symbolism : their interpretation can only be placed in a different perspective, that of the "purgation" of the *vāsanā* of obsessional type.
67. See above, p. 81,

nirvāṇa, the Bodhisattva become indignant at such an affirmation (*durbhāṣitavacana*).[68] How deeply then are moral prejudices rooted in Buddhist mentality! And when the all Happy One maintains this teaching is that appropriate to one who knows the supreme reality, which is very evident since that supreme reality is *nairātmya* and *śūnyatā*, the noble assembly is filled with terror and the Tathāgata lose consciousness.[69]

But those assertions are made precisely in order to excite violent and salutary indignation; the reactions of Buddha and Bodhisattva prove not only that the process is efficacious, but, what is more to the point, that they themselves were needing it ! It is difficult to think that such passages are not nuanced with humour.

Superficial interpretations of those difficult revelations go back, one sees, to a mythical era, for temporal desertion of the predication of Dhānyakaṭaka is foreign to history. And there it is that the worst writings on "Tantrism" find themselves at once rehabilatated, because, for the historian, the manner, were it erroneous, in which a text was understood, is as important as its real meaning. These risks of being mistaken oblige them to hold secret the teaching on vacuity in its ultimate consequences. The *tantra* are not writings which should be allowed to fall into all hands; to entrust them to a rationalist and bashful historian would be to look seriously in *upāyakauśalya*.

Therefore it was useful that the perilous teaching of the *śūnyatā* should be accompanied by commentaries : strict interpretation, even if it has not been the most frequent, has at least often been taken up again. As an example one can cite the *Hevajrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā* of Vajragarbha, of strictly moral teaching.

Is it a matter, for example, of sexual rites ? It is beyond doubt that a doctrine deliberately ignoring sexuality, would be in opposition to the aims which the Mantranaya assigns to itself, that is to say control of the whole of the psychosomatic individuality. From that angle the formation of those who control difficulty those reacting forces, used to necessitate an

68. *Guhyasamāja*, p. 21.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

adapted treatment. That is what Vajragarbha explains : when one introduces into the *maṇḍala*, may be a *mantra*, may be (as said flippantly in the text) "any young girl of sixteen years"[70], it is a question of teaching the way of passion to the bewildered who have a "worldly" temperament (*laukika*) :[71] said otherwise, it does not suffice not to accumulate the seeds of rebirth, it is still necessary to take into account the traces of old deeds. Now, that stock of *vāsanā* organises itself in pulsions, which ineluctably will have to ripen : one of the roles of the *guru* is to hasten the maturation of these, doing everything so that new acts, which blossom from very ancient seeds, do not in their turn bear strange fruits. That preoccupation, which is one of the essentials of mediaeval Buddhism, is, in particular, the characteristic of the system *zi-byed.*

In another passage, the same commentator explains that the orgiastic rites, described in chapter VII of the second part of the *Hevajratantra*, are designed to enlighten the bewildered about the power of passion. And, moreover, Vajragarbha expresses himself in very clear terms : "The propitiation of passion ought not to be obtained by eating meat, drinking wine, and practising sexual union at the time of those exterior reunions. The stock of *dharma* of those who think that...... will be without effect, and their effort of *yoga* even if it is excellent, will result in nothing. Also when the text (of the *Hevajratantra*) says that propitiation of passion is obtained in celebrating those assemblies with food, with drink etc., that can only be with the purpose of attracting the misled.[72]

Some eminent master-teachers showed the doctrinal legitamacy of that effort, here seized at the precise level of the textual commentary, that is to say under its pedagogic aspect, with a view to safeguarding the moral on the plane of truth of envelopment : such was the case of Kamalaśīla in his *Bhāvanākrama* and, later, of Dīpāṅkaraśrījñāna. But that an Atīśa has had to recall, at least in Tibet, the principles which, according to him, ought to accompany the Mantranaya, proves that some precepts which are true only in the perspec-

70. *Hevajratantra*, I, X, 6.
71. Transl. SNELLGROVE, p. 81, f.n. 6.
72. SNELLGROVE, introduction to the *Hevajratantra*, p. 8, f.n. 2.

tive of the *śūnyatā*, have been applied, under sacred cover, to the apparent universe; it was inescapable that it should be thus, because society includes some Arghagharghāṭikā[73] as well as some Kamalaśīla. Let us reserve the case of Guhyaprajña, since the reputation of that master perhaps does not correspond to his true personality :[74] the "brigand-monks" who were reclaimed by his teaching represent, as will be seen later[75], the typical example of the abuse with which the 19th century was reproaching—and not without reason—the self-styled "tantrism".

ON THE EVE OF THE "SECOND PROPAGATION OF THE DOCTRINE"

The majority of the events which developed during the persecution remain in the chronological impression which characterises Indian cultural history, as soon as it is not enlightened by contemporary information from foreign authors. However, one date is many times confirmed : that of 967, the year of the "fire-hare" for Tibetans and *prabhava* for Indians—departure point of chronology proper to the Kālacakra, when, it is pretended,[76] the new system was introduced in India.

Besides, the Tibetans interested themselves in the predecessors of the master-teachers of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po. But only one is given—in one sole course to our knowledge—as Kaśmīr.

ĀNANDAGARBHA

From the *Blue Annals*[77] we learn that the great *lo-cā-ba* Rin-chen bzaṅ-po translated the *Tattvāloka*, commentary, composed by the *ācārya* Kun-sñiṅ [Ānandagarbha] to the

73. Heroine of a novel by Kṣemendra, who is, at one time, disguised as a Buddhist nun. Cf. under p. 263, note 8.
74. Cf. under, pp. 172-174.
75. *Ibid.*
76. But on that point Gzon-nu-dpal is sceptical : "Most of the later scholars maintained that the time of the appearance of the Kālacakra in Madhyadeśa corresponded to the beginning of the first cycle (*rab-byuṅ*) of the "past" years (*'das-lo*). But it seems to me that the Kālacakra had appeared in Āryadeśa long before that time" (*B.A.*, p. 754).

    In fact, the use of the jupetarian cycle is much more anterior to the 10th century. It is particularly described by Varāhamihira.
77. *B.A.*, p. 352.

Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgrahasūtra, an incomplete commenraty on the *Dpal-mchog-rgyud* of the same *ācārya*, the ritual of the of the *Rdo-rje 'byuṅ-ba*, composed equally by Ānandagarbha, and finally the *Māyājāla-mahātantrarāja*, accompanied by an explanation of the text by Ānandagarbha. But about the epoch and the province of Ānandagarbha no precise information is supplied to us. Now, in the case of present interest, Bu-ston adds a detail neglected by Gzon-nu dpal. Ye-śes'od, he tells us, sent to Kaśmīr Rin-chen bzaṅ-po and his companions in order that they might learn the system of Ānandagarbha of Kaśmīr and the *vinaya*. Giuseppe Tucci cites the parallel passage of Pad-ma dkar-po,[78] but does not mention the Kaśmīri origin of Ānandagarbha. Bu-ston's pointer therefore remains isolated and fragile, all the more so as Tāranātha attributes to that commentator a Magadhian origin. The only point certain then is that Ānandagarbha's teaching was known in Kaśmīr around the year 1000.

Ānandagarbha's renown is in other respects rather widespread. A voluminous commentary on the *Guhyasamājatantra*, which fills four tomes of the *Bstan-'gyur*, has been edited by the *Mahāpaṇḍita Vajrācārya* Ānandagarbha. That is, we are told, the secret name (*gsaṅ-mchan*) of a master whose religious name is Padmaprabha, but it is impossible to affirm that this author is the same as the Kaśmīri teacher of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*.

The masterpieces of Ānandagarbha are :

—the *ṭīkā* of the *Paramādi* entitled *Prajñāpāramitodaya* (*Rg*., LIV, 2 to LVI, 1, 1730 p.) of which the translation undertaken by Rin-chen bzaṅ-po and Śraddhākaravarman was finished by Mantrakalaśa;
—the *Tattvasaṃgrahābhisamayanāmatantravyākhyā Tattvālokakarī nāma* (*Rg*., LII-LIII, 1584 p.) of which the translation was also only commenced by Rin-chen bzaṅ-po.

The other writings of Ānandagarbha, not so extensive are nevertheless not negligible. In particular they are :

78. *Rin c'en bzaṅ po*, p. 34.

—another commentary to the *Paramāditantra* in 114 p. (*Mdo*, LIV, 1);
—*Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalopāyikā* entitled *Sarvavajrodaya* (*Rg.*, LVII, I, 114 p.) attached to the same ritual;
—the *Vajrasattvodayanāmasādhanopāyikā* (*Rg.*, LVII, 2, 26 p.);
—and the *Vajrasattvasādhanopāyikā* (*Rg.*, LVII, 3, 10 p.).

That Vajrācārya also published a *Pañjikā* on the *Guhyasamāja* (*Rg.*, XLII, I, 193 p.).

Finally in a different sphere, he is author of a *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatejorājasya tathāgatasyārhataḥ samyaksaṃbuddhasya nāma kalpaṭīkā* (*Rg.*, LXIII, I, 228 p.).

THE KĀLACAKRA

Furthermore, the importance of the Kālacakra in the history of Buddhism and the interest accorded to it by numerous Kaśmīri master-teachers, as well as its own originality, call for a summary presentation of results acquired up to the present in study of that difficult system. Abhinavagupta himself did not disdain to describe at length and to criticise the Kālacakra in chapter XVI of his *Tantrāloka*, to the extent that such criticism constitutes one of the principal sources for knowledge of that Tantric cycle, side by side with the Buddhistic texts themselves, in the front rank of which it is fitting to place the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*[79] of Nāropā (perhaps a Kaśmīri), the only text of the system edited at this time.[80]

The essential elements of the Kālacakra are, it seems, three in number. The "yoga of six members", *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* (*yan-lag drug-gi rnal 'byor*) is not a novelty. It is mentioned in the last chapter of the *Guhyasamājatantra* :[81]

79. *Sekoddeśaṭīkā of Naḍapāda* (*Nāropā*), sanskrit text edited for the first time with an introduction in English by Mario E. CARELLI, Baroda, 1941.

80. Since this was written, has been published at New Delhi, in 1966, the *Kālacakratantra*, in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian (Śata-pitaka Series, vol. 69-70), by Raghu VIRA and Lokesh CHANDRA.

81. *G.O.S.*, LIII, p. 163.

Sevāṣaḍaṅgayogena kṛtvā sādhanam uttamam
Sādhayed anyathā naiva jāyate siddhir uttamā

That chapter, the 18th, wouid have been added to the *Guhyasamāja* tardily; in fact, the commentary of that text by Candrakīrti, according to the teaching of Nāgārjuna, *Pradīpoddyotana*,[82] only explains 17 chapters. However, the 18th was already known from Candrakīrti and from Nāgārjuna, but in the form of an independent text, entitled *Samājottara* which was commented on by a Nāgārjuna :[83] the *Samājottara* contains then perhaps the most ancient mention of the *yoga* system for six members,[84] which since the 11th century is considered as an integral part of the Kālacakra.

Let us recall which are those six organs, five of which bear the same names as certain of the stages of the classical yoga of Patañjali, although they do not occupy the same rank (in the list below we make the names correspond to their number order in the *yoga* of eight member) :

pratyāhāra	(5)	*dhāraṇā*	(6)
dhyāna	(7)	*anusmṛti*	
prāṇāyāma	(4)	*samādhi*	(8)

To say the truth, the most characteristic innovations seem to be a chronological system and a meditation on time bordering on a meditation preconized by Abhinavagupta in the *Tantrāloka* and in the *Tantrasāra*. In particular the chronology conforms to use of the cycle of 60 years, already known for a very long time and described in detail by Varāhamihira. The meditation on time strives to project itself into "non-time" through a perception of subjectivity and temporal relativity.

Finally and above all, belief in a primordial Buddha, although it may not be absolutely new, as has been noted especially in relation to the *Guhyasamāja* (see above p. 79), is presented by adepts of the Kālacakra as one of the essential revelations of the system.[85]

82. *Rg.*, XXVIII, 1.
83. P. CORDIER, p. 131.
84. G. TUCCI, Some glosses upon the Guhyasamāja, *M.C.B* , III, p. 340.
85. When Asaṅga withstands the conception of an Ādibuddha, he gives to the word a completely different meaning.

In fact, the Kālacakra pretends to a dignity more eminent than the other Tantric cycles and presents itself as new faith : this is which explains the fervour with which the adepts spread it, and the very special importance which Tibetan authors attach to that propagation. The episode of the introduction of the system at Nālandā, as related by Pad-ma dkar-po, and which recalls, with certain variants, Gzon-nu dpal,[86] translates with eloquence that state of spirit. Let us recall that famous passage to which Sandor Csoma de Körös drew attention in a note which appeared in February 1893 in the journal of the *Asiatic Society*. Tailikapāda would have designed, at the entrance of the University of Nālandā, the effigies of the ten guardians of the door and he wrote :

> *He who does not know the Ādibuddha could not know the Kālacakra.*
> *He who does not understand the Kālacakra would not know the exact enumeration of the divine attributes.*
> *He who does not know the exact enumeration of the divine attributes would not know the* Vajradhārajñāna.
> *He who does not know the* Vajradhārajñāna *would not understand the Mantrayāna* (sṅags-kyi theg-po),
> *And whose who are thus moving around along in the wheel of transmigration, they are outside the path of Bhagavant Vajradhāra. Also every true guru ought to teach (the doctrine of) the Ādibuddha, and every true disciple who aspires to liberation should receive that teaching.*

Nāropā was then *upādhyāya*. He broached a controversy, attended by five hundred *paṇḍita*. They were vanquished and received from Tilopā the doctrine of the Ādibuddha.

The recital of the *Blue Annals* carries some interesting variants. The debate would have developed not at Nālandā, but at Vikramaśīla, which is moreover known for its reputation as the "Tantric" university, although the teaching distributed, during the same epoch, in the two big centres close by, has doubtless been very nearly the same, and that one must exclude the hypothesis of a specialisation. On the other hand, the declaration which was at the origin of the controversy would be due to Kālacakrapāda "father and son". The passage seems to admit, without, discussing it, the identification of Kālacakrapāda the Young with Piṇḍo *ācārya*, and supposes known the identity of Kālacakrapāda Senior and of

86. *B.A.*, p. 758.

Tilopā. Pad-ma dkar-po also identifies Tilopā and Kālacakrapāda Senior, but he supposes that Kālacakrapāda Junior is Nāropā. Now, the episode, such as he relates it, of Nāropā's conversion to the Kālacakra following a university debate, contradicts the more venerable legend, which Gzon-nu dpal recalls a little further back, of the conversion of Nāropā by Tilopā at the hermitage of Puṣpahāri. It is then the equation proposed by Gzon-nu dpal which we would more willingly be disposed to accept.

The passage from the *Blue Annals* (pp. 757-758), although very clear, requires some attention, by reason of the difficulty of discerning the personages designated by the personal pronouns, difficulty increased by some parenthetical phrases. Here is the translation of Roerich, as it appears after a certain number of such subordinate phrases and digressions have been suppressed : "When he was residing in Madhyadeśa, Tsi-lu-pa preached the system to five paṇḍitas : Piṇḍo ācārya, etc...He journeyed to Puṣpahari,...and stayed there preaching the system to Na-ro... One (disciple), named Piṇḍo ācārya especially distinguished himself...He heard the Doctrine from the ācārya Kālacakrapāda...He obtained (the system) together with Nā-ro-pā from Kālacakrapāda, the Senior, and became known as Kālacakrapāda, the Junior...These "father" and "son" having once said...that "One who does not know the Kālacakra, would not know the Vajrayāna", caused displeasure among paṇḍitas, who...held a debate. Jo-bo-chen-po could not be defeated. All obtained instruction in the Kālacakra from him. He also became known as Dus-'khor-ba."

After having declared that Tilopā introduced into the Kālacakra successively Piṇḍopā and Nāropā, the author of the *Blue Annals* repeats, with the purpose of being better understood, that Piṇḍopā received the system from Kālacakrapāda Senior, like Nāropā. Then he explains in what circumstances Piṇḍopā received the same surname as his master.

The historical emergence of the Kālacakra is, in fact, preceded by the whole of a prehistory bathed in legend, of which it is perhaps not amiss to recall certain elements. Gzon-nu dpal, who himself received the system according to several traditions, proceeded for us to the comparison of different filiations : the Kālacakra preached by the Buddha himself may be in the year of enlightenment, may be before the *nirvāṇa* at Śrīdhānyakaṭaka, would have been taught later in the enigmatic kingdom of Śambhala, situated "in the North", by some members of the reigning family, king Indrabhūti and his sister Lakṣmīṃkarā. The system was introduced in India by king Kulika Durjaya in the year 806; that date is known with so much more precision as it is the departure point for use, in the chronology, of the sexagesimal cycle which associates the twelve animals with five elements. The Kālacakra in fact admits of a whole chronology, which in particular fixes the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha in the year 542, consequently in agreement with the tradition of the pāli language. To whom did Kulika transmit initiation ? The filiations taught by the different traditions do not agree : they name Coluka (or Cilupa), Piṇḍo (Pito according to Tāranātha) whom the *bla-ma* Bsod-nams 'od-zer-ba seems to confuse with Paiṇḍapātika, *kṣatriya* of eastern Bengal,

and who according to the author of the *Blue Annals*, is identical with Vāgīśvarakīrti: Dārikapāda, southern brahmin; and finally Kālacakrapāda Senior, *kṣatriya* from Madhyadeśa, worshipper of the Tārā, master of Kālacakrapāda the Young. Certain of those master-teachers are perhaps entangled : as one has just seen, Piṇḍopā would be Kālacakrapāda the Young. Let us add that, for certain, Kālacakrapāda Senior is none other than Tillopā or Cilupa (in Sanskrit Tailikapāda), which with a single stroke explains the solitary tradition which makes of Nāropā a disciple of Kālacakrapāda Senior. Kālacakrapāda the Young had numerous disciples and it is from just then that the Kālacākra, previously reserved for a few initiated persons commences to be broadcast, at first in India, then, thanks to three Kaśmīris, in Tibet.

5

Kaḿsiri Buddhism and the "Second propagation of the Doctrine"

The century of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po (980-1055)

About the year 1000, a strange convergence of events upsets the physionomy of the Indian world : the enterprises of the Islamised Turks, installed in Afghanistan around Ghazni, ruin the political equilibrium of Hindustan; the Cola dynasty imposes its sovereignty on the greater part of peninsular India and destroying the maritime power of Śrīvijaya, founds an overseas empire; in the Extreme East and Indonesia, three great rulers, Anoratha in Burma, Sūryavarman I in Cambodia and Airlanga in Java, give an aftermath of lustre to the local civilisations. Moreover, it is possible to think that those events are not independent of each other and that the imperialistic schemes of Cola have possibly been favoured, at least on the economic plane, by the weakening of northern India, in the same way as the prosperity of Cambodia, Burma and Java profitted from the abolition, by Tamil fleets, of Śrīvijaya's monopoly on traffic in the Straits.

To say truth, that developing had been upfolding since around 980 ; the Cālukya Taila II, by attacking the Gaṅga, was imprudently preparing the conquest of the Maissur by the Cola; in 976, Subuktägin, slave of Alptägin, succeeded his old

master on the throne of Ghazni, and in 986 he inaugurated the sad series of incursions that his son Mahmūd continued.

In Kaśmīr, it is in 980 that Diddā, after having disembarrassed herself of Bhīmagupta, mounted the throne herself and shared with her lover Tuṅga the tasks of power.[1] Humble highlander, become porteur-courrier before being raised to the highest functions,[2] Tuṅga (despite the faults which Kalhaṇa stresses) was assuredly an exceptional man and a great minister. Thanks to him and to his queen, Kaśmīr lived in peace and imposed its suzerainty on Rājapurī.[3] Tuṅga outlived his sovereign, but the farseeing Diddā had designated as her successor[4] her nephew Saṃgrāmarāja, son of the sovereign ruling over the principality of Lohara : on her death, in 1003, the change of dynasty was accomplished without clash or interreign.[5]

The 11th century coincides very exactly with the reigns of the six sovereigns of the Lohara dynasty. Whatever the faults for which Kalhaṇa could reproach Saṃgrāmarāja, in particular his feebleness,[6] his reign of a quarter-century was peaceful, and the enterprises of Mahmūd of Ghazni passed almost unnoticed in Kaśmīr. The Kaśmīri people had only to suffer from rigourous economic conditions, which Kalhaṇa attributes to bad management and the rapacity of functionaries. Doubtless due to other causes, they were linked to the expenses that Saṃgrāmarāja's government, that is to say the minister Tuṅga, had to incur for the defence needs of Kaśmīr distant or close.

In fact, the rude energy of that minister, detected because of the taxes with which he crushed the people, doubtless contributed, as well as geographical conditions to protecting Kaśmīr against the Mussulman rezzous. The little Himalayan province could possibly have availed itself of its isolation in order to disinterest itself from the danger which was menacing India. On the contrary Tuṅga ran to the aid of the last of the

1. *R.T.*, VI, 332-333.
2. *R.T.*, VI, 318-320.
3. *R.T.*, VI, 348-353.
4. *R.T.*, VI, 355.
5. *R.T.*, VI, 365-366.
6. *R.T.*, VII, 9.

Śāhi.[7] But the conditions of the defect of the Kaśmīri expeditionary force show to what extent Tuṅga's arrogant and offensive spirit, although in the best Indian tradition, was out of conformity with the kind of war that it was fitting to lead against the Mussulman. The efficacity of a defensive tactic, esteemed not very glorious, had been misunderstood. But it was no longer a matter of fights of ostentation, beloved by princes desirous of affirming their "universal sovereignty", thanks sometimes to the implicit agreement of their neighbours. The stake was no longer the same. This, the valorous *rāja* and their generals did not always understand.

It is strange to see our Buddhists participate in that defence of Kaśmīr, against the invader, with the "weapons" of a Buddhist of the 11th century, that is to say with the aid of *mantra*. The *Blue Annals* tell us in fact that at this epoch, when an army of *mleccha* was approaching Kaśmīr, a Kaśmīri master-teacher, Prajñārakṣita, disciple of Nāropā, stopped its advance by reciting some *mantra*. It is quite probable that this refers to the compaign of Mahmūd against Kaśmīr, which was stopped at Lohara in 1015 or 1021, according to historians. As to the ritual which the Kaśmīri monk accomplished, one imagines it quite similar to that of the knife of diamond (*vajrakartari*),[8] described in the *Hevajratantra* (which, we are aware, was at the time, known and studied in Kaśmīr), if it was not that very ritual itself.[9]

Cultural life does not appear to have been affected by those military events nor by the poverty of the Kaśmīri people. The gigantic work of Abhinavagupta belongs to the end of the 10th century and to the beginning of the 11th : it englobes and

7. *R.T.*, VII, 47-70.
8. "Ritual of the diamond knife : I enunciate the ritual of lime in order to destroy an enemy army. Having weighed the lime, mix it with five ambrosias and with *kuṭhārachinna* [cut with a hatchet (?)], then make a little ball. The *mantra* is :

   Oṃ knife of diamond ! A hevajra hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phat ! In order to obtain the *siddhi*, it must be recited 10 million times, and for the business above-mentioned, 100,000 times. The neck of the vase with which the ritual is practised should then be wrapped up, and, having been so wrapped, it should be broken. All the enemies lose their head." SNELLGROVE,*Hevajratantra*, I, II (22).
9. According to TĀRANĀTHA, (pp. 245-246), it is in front of Vikramaśīla that Prajñārakṣita would have stopped an army of "Turuṣka' by a ritual addressed to Cakrasaṃvara.

brings closer together disciplines very different in appearance —philosophy, aesthetics, psycho-physiological techniques and occasionally, reveals on the part of its author a profound knowledge of Buddhistic research in the domain of logic as in that of the Mantranaya.[10] Around Abhinavagupta assembles a ring of disciples whom, until his death, he continues to animate with his thinking and with his teaching. The most famous of Abhinavagupta's students is not essentially a philosopher : it is a poet—or rather a versifier and "pastician"—but also a man of his time, preoccupied with politics and social satire. Kṣemendra, it is necessary to confess, had not to suffer very much from the economic conditions, for he belonged to a fabulously wealthy family. His father used to permit himself foolish liberalities, perhaps intended to re-establish the moral prestige of the family, without exhausting the treasure accumulated in a scarcely scrupulous manner by thc poet's grandfather, Sindhu, if indeed the latter is the same as the Sindhu minister of Finance (*gañjeśa*) in the reign of Abhimanyu.[11]

After those terrible years, India is going to experience more than a century and a half of peace : she is going to be able to dress her wounds, restore her wealth, forget danger. In Kaśmīr, the palace intrigues recommence. Excessive opulence and misery rub shoulders more than ever. Capital and countryside are prey to scourges denounced by Kalhaṇa : the great military corps, *ekāṅga* and *tantrin*, the *kāyastha*, the *ḍāmara*. But the new economic conditions, created by constitution of the sultanate of Lahore and the firm desire of the Kaśmīri leaders to resist as much as possible the Mussulman[12] infiltration, would suffice to explain the impoverishment of a province which, until then, used to be wide open towards northern India and owed to commerce an important part of its prosperity.

At the outset, the short reign of Harirāja and the mystery surrounding his death[13] pitch the key. Ananta, whom Kṣemendra, good courtier, praises for having disentangled the population from excessive taxes and the tyranny of functionaries,[14]

10. Cf. for example : *Abhinavabhārati*, I, p. 276; *Tantrāloka*, XVI.
11. *R.T.*, VI, 266.
12. See in particular *A.S.R.T.*, II, 358-359, and *al-Bīrūnī*, I, 21.
13. *R.T.*, VII, 133.
14. *Narmamālā*, I, 3-4.

occupied the throne during 35 years (1028-1063), but he hardly reigned except in name. Very happily for Kaśmīr, his wife, Sūryamatī, took upon herself the greater part of the tasks[15] of government, aided by the excellent minister who was Haladhara. Ananta meanwhile devoted himself to re-establishing or strengthening the suzerainty of Kaśmīr over the subject territories—Campā, Dārvābhisāra, etc.; on the contrary, other States, Uraśā and Vallāpura, were showing insubordination and their desire for independence.[16] Ananta's abdication, in favour of his son Kalaśa, was a disastrous initiative. The reign of Kalaśa (that of Utkarṣa lasted only 22 days) was darkened by the struggle he carried on against his father and the latter's lamentable end.

During all that period Kalhaṇa mentions only one Buddhist foundation, that of a *vihāra* by Bhadreśvara, chief minister under Saṃgramarāja.[17] This is sufficient to confirm the existence in Kaśmīr of a prosperous community but also to permit detection of a gradual disaffection in regard to Buddhism : queen Sūryamatī, the only one who, at that epoch, consecrated an important number of foundations,[18] was an earnest Śivaite and did not deign to favour religions other than her own. We are far from the tolerant mentality which Kalhaṇa used to praise in Lalitāditya.[19]

It is therefore possible to conclude, from reading the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that Buddhism in Kaśmīr was in full decline; is it then astonishing that the Himalayan community henceforward cut off from the holy places and from the universities of Magadha and Bengal,[20] should enervated little by little for want

15. *R.T.*, VII, 199-200.
16. *R.T.*, VII, 218-221.
17. *R.T.*, VII, 121.
18. *R.T.*, VII, 180-185.
19. *R.T.*, IV, 200.
20. In Magadha, during the second half of the 10th century, Buddhism was shining with spirited lustre : it is the epoch of the "regency of Caṇaka" and of the six "great guardians of the door". The list of the guardians is supplied by Tāranātha (chapter XXIII) and by Gzon-nu dpal (*B.A.*, p. 206), with some variants of little importance: the guardian of the north gate was Nāropā; the guardian of the eastern gate, named Ratnākaraśānti by Tāranātha, is simply named (*Contd.*)

of exchanges, that the doctrine should become distorted, and that the indifference of the great should deprive it of all economic support ?

However, relations between the Kaśmīr Buddhist community and Tibet recover a little before the year 1000 and, from that time, Tibetan sources swarm with information concerning Kaśmīri master-teachers.

In Tibet, the persecution of Glan Dar-ma had certainly not eliminated Buddhism in a manner as radical as official history would allow one to believe. Various signs prove that Buddhism was survivnig under the cinders and the embers could revive with the least spark. For example, the *Blue Annals* explain how the translations of the scriptures were saved and kept hidden by some of the lay faithful. Some monks, who had taken refuge in central Asia, soon came back to Tibet. Throughout the duration of the persecution Buddhism led a secret life, the history of which remains unknown by reason of its very clandestinity. It is nevertheless

Sānti-pa in the *Blue Annals*; Prajñākaramati (different from Prajñākaragupta according to TĀRANĀTHA, p. 235) and Vagīśvarakīrti see themselves attributed respectively to the western and southern gates in the *Blue Annals*, south and west chez Tāranātha; in the centre, Ratnavajra and Jñānaśrī. In ever so small a degree it would be possible to admit that these great names from the university of Vikramaśīla were not exactly contemporaneous, for example, that Ratnavajra and Jñānaśrī occupied successively the "seat" of central pillar : but that the lustre of that famous university was particularly brilliant "in the reign of Caṇaka" stimulated this comparison (*Le Cid* during "the reign of Louis XIV" !). That is not absolutely necessary : it is well established that Nāropā, Ratnavajra, Vagīśvarakīrti were indeed contemporaries. But, in 1041, their career was ending ; that of Jñānaśrī was entering a new phase.

According to the text translated by GUENTHER, on arrival of Nāropā at Nālandā (and not at Vikramaśīla) the guardians of the door were : Prajñākara at the east door ("immediate and intuitive understanding of the profound and radiant nature of reality"); at the south door Kṛṣṇācārya (discipline); at the west door Ratnākaraśānti (grammer, epistology, spiritual precepts and logic); at the north gate Jetāri ("realization that rejection and attainment are the same when all obstacles have been overcome") (*Life and teaching*, p. 20). Kṛṣṇācārya, who appears in that list is he the Ratnavajra of the other lists ? (*Cf.* below, p. 165, f.n. 31).

easy to guess that the purity of the doctrine suffered seriously from lack of control by an organised Church, and that the popular religions, doubtless also the religion Bon-po, have once more insidiously slipped in some magic practices and superstitious beliefs of all kinds.

A few years before the year 1000, at a date which Tibetan historians dispute, and which basically is scarcely important as it can only be established by tacit agreement, the Church reappeared in two localities : at Bsam-yas, where a small nucleus of religious were establishing themselves, while the party hostile to Buddhism continued to impose itself in the capital; and, above all, in western Tibet.

That western Tibet, or Mṅa-ris peopled by various ethnic elements very poorly known was a region but lately attached to Tibet. A great-grandson of Glaṅ Dar-ma, Skyid-lde ñi-ma-mgon, had there founded a kingdom where what Tibetans call "the second propagation of the doctrine" (*pyi-dar*) was being carried out, and it is to the Kaśmīri monasteries that the Buddhists of Mṅa-ris appealed in order to receive the transfusion necessary for the reanimation of a dying community.

The three sons of Ñi-ma-mgon had respectively inherited Ladakh, then designated by the name of Mar-yul, the Pu-'rans, which is the region extending eastward as far as lake Mānasa, and Guge, which used to comprise the Tibetan part of the upper valley of the Sutlej and doubtless the present day Spiti, which largely corresponds to the ancient Zaṅ-zuṅ. Pu-'rans and Guge were reunited anew through the grandson of Ñi-ma-mgon, and that region centred on the upper Sutlej, with Tho-liṅ for capital, played a cultural role of quite first importance around the year 1000 and throughout the 11th century. Ñi-ma-mgon's grandson himself, Ye-śes'od, entered holy orders and took the title of "royal monk" (*lha bla-ma*) [*devaguru*] : his two sons were equally religious; it is his brother, Sroṅ-ne (or 'khor-te) who receives the title of viceroy (*rgyal-chab*) and to whose lot fell the task of governing. But, as Giuseppe Tucci emphasises, the soul of the kingdom remained Ye-śes'od.[21]

21. For all concerning Rin-chen bzaṅ-po and the history of western Tibet around the year 1000, we are borrowing our information from the excellent book, already cited of Giuseppe TUCCI, *Rin c'en bzaṅ-po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet intorno al mille.*

That fervent protector of the Law, about whose character we are somewhat enlightened, being aware of his unreserved adherence to the Mahāyāna, felt keenly the need to compare afresh Tibetan Buddhism and Indian sources : the degeneration of Buddhism and the intemperance of the Mantrayāna were worrying him. This disquiet led Ye-śes'od to turn toward Kaśmīr, not exclusively because of its proximity and its climate more favourable to Tibetans, but also on account of the prestige with which endowed to it scholars and mystics belonging to the various schools of thought.

The story about the emissaries of the royal monk to Kaśmīr is well known. Pad-ma dkar-po relates it with abundance of detail, but, as Giuseppe Tucci remarks, that very abundance calls for caution.[22] Doubtless it is possible nevertheless to accept with confidence the main outline, provided one has eliminated the details aimed at padding (one could almost say "romancing") a recital a little too dry and the episodes added by a historian desirous of reconnecting the life of the great *lo-cā-ba* with the history of contemporary Buddhism as a whole. Moreover, the chief points are confirmed by Bu-ston :[23] the king chose twenty one young nobles, aged from ten to twenty years, and sent them to study religion in Kaśmīr, where nineteen of them perished : returned, seven years later, only Rin-chen bzań-po and one of his companions.[24] Perhaps when Ye-śes 'od had advised his young envoys to become initiated in the *tantra* of the Mantrayāna, either he was particularly interested in those mysterious texts or he had a certain feeling of defiance in regard to the degenerated Mantranaya, examples of which were scandalising him, or, again, his Buddhistic zeal may have impelled him to wish to conquer on

22. In his biography about Rin-chen bzań-po, Pad-ma dkar-po, makes 'dsin mi-tra and Śilendrabhodhi (*sic*) contemporaries of Rin-chen bzań-po.

23. "The king Kher-de confides his kingdom to his young brother Sroń-de, and himself entered holy orders, having taken religious name of Ye-śes 'od. He chose twenty-one young men, Rin-chen bzań-po, etc. and sent them to study the *dharma* in India" (p. 212).

24. Perhaps Legs-pa'i śes-rab, as G. Tucci thinks, although one hardly sees how that monk, who was still living and working in the second half of the 11th century, would have been able to accompany Rin-chen bzań-po at the time of his first journey.

their own territory the Bon-po magicians, whose menace could not fail to disquieten him. On the other hand, it is scarcely likely that (as Pad-ma dkar-po pretends) Yes-śes 'od himself indicated the titles of the manuscripts to be studied and the names of the four most famous Indian master-teachers he would have wished to see come to Tho-liṅ (and among those figures the Kaśmīri Ratnavajra), be it only because he did not know them at that period of his life. Let us recollect only that the historian of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po associated the name of Ratnavajra with the Kālacakra, the four *tantra* of Vajrāsana, and the Yogatantra.

When Rin-chen bzaṅ-po came back to Mṅa-ris, his erudition, acquired exclusively in Kaśmīri monasteries, was already famous, especially in the sphere of philosophy, above all the Mādhyamika philosophy, and in the *tantra* : Guhyasamāja acording to two interpretations, Tattvasaṅgraha and also, it is said, Kālacakra. It is then that he takes in hand the enormous task of translation which earns him the title of Lo-chen "the great translator". He collaborated with many Indian paṇḍits, the majority of them Kaśmīri, including Śraddhākaravarman, Padmākaragupta, Kamalagupta, Ratnavajra, Buddhaśrīśānta and Buddhapāla, who came to Tibet at the invitation of Ye-śes 'od : that is the start of a period of continuous exchangs between Kaśmīr and Mṅa-ris and, if the second journey of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po was a pilgrimage to the Magadha, it is back to Kaśmīr that his third tour brings him.

A relief on wood, coming from the monastery of Tabo, and which can date from the beginning of the 11th century, supplies us with direct proof of that influence of Kaśmīr on western Tibet. It is reproduced by H. Goetz in *Mārg*, vol. XIII, p. 71.[25] It represents a Buddha standing, clad in a supple and transparent *saṅghati* of which the lengthened elegance and the harmony of a *tribhaṅga* scarcely perceptible recall the most successful masterpieces of Pāla art. Now, that Buddha is presented in an architectural setting exactly Kaśmīri; the top piece joins the triangular pedestal to the ornamental arcade work; some turned back folds recall a theme frequent in Kaśmīr (see in particular a relief of the temple of Avantisvāmin, *A.M.K.*, pl. II). The complex pillar ornamented with figurations about the Buddha also recalls some columns of Avantisvāmin *A.M.K.* pl. LXXI).

25. H. GOETZ. The Mediaeval Sculpture of Kashmir, *Mārg*, fasc. 2, pp. 65-75; cf. text p. 73, col. I.

The Kaśmīri master-teachers who worked in Mṅa-ris, in company with the great *lo-cā-ba* and his disciples, preceded at Tho-liṅ the missionaries come from the Magadha and from Bengal : Dharmapāla (1013) and above all Dīpāṃkaraśrījñāna, that is to say Atīśa (1042). One knows the profound influence exercised on Tibetan Buddhism by that master, who is at the origin of the *bka'-gdams-pa* sect ; another sect, as important as that founded by Atīśa, the *bka'-brgyud-pa*, claims a contemporary Kaśmīri-teacher, Nāropā.

In the epoch with which we are occupied, those "sects" do not exist, but it is fitting to start distinguishing the various tendencies in the instruction the Tibetans of the 11th century were receiving from their Indian teachers : on the fringe of the official movement of evangelisation, patronised by the reigning dynasty, other influences have reached Tibet, teachers other than those invited by Ye-śes 'od and his successors have ventured forth on the tracks opened by the monk of Tho-liṅ. At the same time as Ratnavajra, Śraddhākara, Padmākara, other instructors, Nāropā, Boddhibhadra, Prajñāgupta, were forming Tibetan disciples. Those varied currents correspond to a duality which exists in Indian contemporary Buddhism : the parallelism of scholastic teaching and esoteric teaching explains not only differenccs of religious temperament but also certain variances concerning the doctrine pertaining to salvation.

The *Rnam-thar* of Atīśa, edited by Bu-ston, recalls that the misuses of the Mantrayāna were not due to bad interpretation, by the Tibetans alone, of the teaching of their masters; he names a renowned Kaśmīri whose life and predication were considered scandalous by many contemporary Buddhists.[26] "A certain Tantric priest called the *ācaryā*

26. Moreover nothing prevents one from thinking that certain, among the Indian monks who went to look for adventure in Tibet, were absenting themselves from their monastery precisely because of differences opposing them to the community, and perhaps due to the reprobation weighing on them. On the contrary the monks invited to Tibet were master-teachers famous in India, like Atīśa, who used to occupy himself recalling that moral discipline was imposing itself equally on all, even on the greatest ones of the *vajrācārya*.

Dmar-po, having translated a mystical work called *Mantra vindu*, converted the majority of the monks to secular tantrism[27]".

In Tibet, one differentiates the system of the *tantra* and the system of the *sūtra*, between which exist numerous divergencies. It is thus that Gzon-nu dpal places in the mouth of Lha-rje zur-chuṅ ba, born in 1014, the following ironic exclamation : "I was of the opinion that the belief that one might attain Buddhahood through murder, belonged to the system of Tantra only, and not to that of the Sūtras, but such a great scholar, as Khyuṅ-po grags-se has now said that by killing Zur-chuṅ-ba one might attain Buddhahood, therefore in the depth of his mind he has followed my doctrine, and therefore I become pleased !"[28]

Elsewhere[29] "tantric" is opposed to monk : what is more, for presiding over an assembly one hesitates to choose between a Bon-po, a monk or a Tantric ! Certainly, it is necessary to avoid applying to Indian Buddhism a distinction of that order, despite Kalhaṇa's indication analysed above.[30] We do not think any Indian master-teacher of the era had been able to disinterest himself from practice of the techniques to which S.C. Das, speaking of Dmar-po, made allusion by the name of *tantra*. Nāropā, doubtless the greatest of the *ācārya* of the Kālacakra, was "keeper of the gate" at Vikramaśīla, and his colleague Ratnavajra, one of the teachers of Rin-cheṅ bzan-po, if one believes a hint furnished by the *Blue Annals* is perhaps only a *vajrācārya* whose "secret name" conceals his true personality.[31]

27. According to the interpretation of Śarat Candra DAS, Indian Pandits in Tibet, *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India*, January 1893, p. 15. See below, pp. 173-174, for other citations concerning Dmar-po.

28. *B.A.*, p. 120.

29. *B.A.*, p. 112.

30. See above, p. 6, (*R.T.*, III, 12).

31. Here is that enigmatic passage : "The *ācārya* Karṇapa : he received at the time of his ordination the name of Candaniprabhava. His name of mystical initiation was Ratnavajra". (*B.A.*, p. 372). Karṇapā is a middle Indian form of Kṛṣṇapāda. But Kṛṣṇapāda the Young (Nag-po-zabs chuṅ-ba) was a contemporary of Nāropā, equally called Balin *ācārya*. See also above p. 160, f.n. 20.

But the interpretations of texts judged orthodox have sometimes been seriously diverged. It was necessary that Atīśa, resuming a theme already dealt with by Kamalaśīla, should specify, in his *Bodhipathapradīpa (Mdo*, XXXI, 9 and XXXIII, I), that the way of the *bodhi* should associate *upāya* and *prajñā* and that constant meditation on the irreality (*abhāvatā*) of the *dharma* was not sufficient for attaining enlightenment, that moral effort must be on equal footing with cognitive effort. Gzon-nu dpal adds :[32] "Thus the Master emitted the Lion's roar saying that sByor-ba and sGrol-ba were unsuitable for practice by one who followed the word of Tantras only." Returning to the question of sexual rites, Atīśa also specified that initiation in the rituals of *prajñā* and in the rites called *gsaṅ-dbaṅ* in Tibetan could not be given to *brahmacārin*; the *Paramādibuddhatantra* forbade it in exact terms.[33] Moral conduct assuredly is practised in an empty world, but in the interior of that empty world the mechanism of the *karman* conserves all its implacable strictness. It is this which earned for *Jo-bo rje* the nickname of *paṇḍita las-'bras-pa*, the paṇḍit of the act and of its fruits.[34]

On the other hand, psychosomatic techniques were evolving, and at the very time when the innovations of the preceding generation, returned and interpreted by severe censors, were becoming classic, new research, as is normal, was again suspect by the majority and was protected from too wide a diffusion by the very people who were themselves studying it. The *Pañcakrama* and the group of books which rested upon that method of purification of the psychosomatic entity were already the subject of generalised instruction and of commentaries, while the *yoga* of six branches, the meditation on time and the doctrine of the Ādibuddha were still taught in great secret by some masters to exceptional disciples of their own choosing, even the enigmatic Zi-byed, almost ignored by the Kaśmīris.[35]

32. *B.A.*, p. 248.
33. *B.A.*, p. 204.
34. *B.A.*, p. 248.
35. However, Dam-pa Saṅs-rgyas grand broadcaster of the Zi-byed, in

(*Contd.*)

Now, Tho-liṅ represented a tendency prudent and moderate. The masters most esteemed by certain Tibetan sects, in particular that of the *Sa-skya-pa*, had not been invited there officially. They are nonetheless representative of a whole aspect of Indian Buddhism around the year 1000.[36]

The career of Rin-chen bzaṅ-pa covers three-quarters of a century : which means that the age of the majority of his collaborators is known only very approximately. In general, we are a little better informed about the more eminent among them ; thus we know that the greater part of the career of Ratnavajra also belongs to the 10th century, while Subhūtiśrī arrived at Tho-liṅ some twenty years before the death of the old translator-interpreter. For convenience of explanation, it is therefore possible to distinguish three generations. That of the first teachers of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po is approximately that of the "six great guardians of the gate", then that of Ratnavajra and of the first introducers of the Kālacakra in Tibet : they worked in his company before Atīśa's arrival at Tho-lin, because starting from 1042 the Tibetan master-teacher, already aged, scarcely worked any more except with the young Indian missionary whom he had consented, not without reticence at first, to take as his pupil. The most prolific Kaśmīri collaborators of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po, upon whom moreover the excellent work of Giuseppe Tucci exempts to enlarge ought to be somewhat close to the contemporaries of the celebrated *lo-cā-ba*. Finally approaching the middle of the 11th century, appear other personalities, Subhūtiśrī and Somanātha, at the very time when a new orientation of study is being delineated.

Tibet, would have sojourned in Kaśmīr. He was teacher of the Kaśmīri Jñānaguhya (*B.A.*, p. 871). See also, below, pp. 170 and 171. About Paramabuddha (Dam-pa Saṅs-rgyas) and the Zi-byed, cf. Marcelle LALOU, *Les Religions du Tibet*, pp. 39-42 and 44-47.

36. Only Padma dkar-po mentions that Nāropā would have taught Rin-chen bzaṅ-po the Guhyasamāja, according to the two interpretations, that of Buddhajñāna and that of Nāgārjuna. But that information is placed in a context which only inspires relative confidence.

THE GENERATION OF THE MASTER-TEACHERS OF RIN-CHEN BZAṄ-PO

THE "GUARDIAN OF THE GATE" RATNAVAJRA

The most important of the Kaśmīri master-teachers near whom Rin-chen bzaṅ-po improved himself is assuredly RATNAVAJRA (Rin-chen rdo-rje). That erudite scholar, one of the most renowned of his day, was a Kaśmīri brahmin. According to Tāranātha,[37] he would be the son of Haribhadra, which is at least doubtful.[38] In any case certain it is that for son he had Mahājana, who was a collaborator of Mar-pa, himself father of Sajjana and grandfather of Sukṣmajana, who was an assistant of Ñi-ma grags. His date is therefore easy to determine with sufficient precision : doubtless he was born in the second

37. *T.N.*, pp. 240-241.
38. Here is, according to the translation of Schiefner, the biographical notice concerning Ratnavajra by Tāranātha :

"The great central Pillar, the brahmin Ratnavajra. Formerly a Kaśmīri brahmin, when he used to appeal to Maheśvara, he received from him the prophecy that his descendants would all be famous sages. It worked out in this way : throughout twenty-four generations his descendants were *tīrthika*, the twenty-fifth was the brahmin Haribhadra. He started a controversy with the Buddhists, staked his adherence to the doctrine, and was vanquished. He became a Buddhist and was also in that doctrine a learned *paṇḍita*.

"His son is the brahmin Ratnavajra : his rank was that of an *upāsaka* ; until the age of 30 years he was instructed in Kaśmīr and learned all the *sūtra*, the *mantra* and all the sciences. Then, he went to the Magadha, studied again for a little while, and at Vajrāsana he accomplished the invocatory rite, contemplated the face of Cakrasaṃvara, of Vajravārāhī and of numeorus other divinities. The king gave him the diploma of Vikramaśīla, there, he expounded excellently several sections of the Mantrayāna, the *pramāṇa* of seven members, the five doctrines of Maitreya, etc. During numerous years he acted for the salvation of his fellow creatures, and, on returning to Kaśmīr he entered into discussion with various *tīrthika*, refuted them and initiated them into the doctrine of the Buddha. He also founded several session of instruction for explanation of the *vidyāgaṇa*, of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, of the *Guhyasamāja*, etc. In the second half of his life, he wended his way to Udyāna." It is there that he converts the brahmin who becomes the red *ācārya*.

"The wise men of Kaśmīr say that the brahmin Ratnavajra disappeared in the shape of a rainbow in Udyāna at the same place." (*T.N.*, pp. 240-241).

quarter of the 10th century (towards 940 ?) and was some years senior to Nāropā.

His career is quite well known : until the age of 36, he studied in his native province. For teacher he had Gaṅgādhara, who also taught Rin-chen bzaṅ-po.[39] Doubtless it is then that he converts rhe Śivaite Kaśmīri brahmin who at ordination takes the name of Guhyaprajña, but is known above all by the cognomen of the red *Ācārya*.[40] He then went to the Magadha, accomplished a pilgrimage to Bodh-gayā, then studied at the university of Vikramaśīla, where he won the title of *paṇḍita* before becoming "central pillar".[41] His lofty learning gained him that dignity, although he was a layman. But he returned to Kaśmīr and travelled in Udyāna (Oḍḍiyāna ?); then he betook himself to Tho-liṅ, where he had time to assist in the translation of several manuscripts,[42] then to central Tibet

39. *Mdo*, XLVIII, 2.
40. *The Dpag-bzam ljon-bzaṅ* points out that the *tīrhika* after his conversion received the name Guhyaprajña had come from Kaśmīr to Vikramaśīla for the purpose of maintaining discussions with Buddhists ; but that version may very well only be an interpretation of informations more ancient and more abridged (p. 118).
41. *B.A.*, p. 209.
42. Here we have a finger on the gaps in our information. This data renders quite probable an identification which otherwise would remain uncertain. The colophons of the Tibetan translation and the indexes of those interpretations name, in Sanskrit or in Tibetan : Ratnaśrī,-śrījñana,-śrīphala,-śrībhadra,-śrīmitra; Ratnavajra, Ratnavajraśrī. One easily identifies :

1. A Kaśmīri author, sometimes named Ratnaśrī, sometimes Ratnavajra, who receives the titles of *siddhācārya*, *mahācārya*, *siddha*, *vidyādhara*. His writings were translated into Tibetan by various paṇḍits, among them Rin-chen bzaṅ-po and, for one of them (*Rgyud*, XIV, 16), by PARAHITA. Now that celebrated Kaśmīri logician had precisely for master a Ratnaśrī (*Rgyud*, XXVI, 29 and 33) who, consequently, is doubtless confused with our Ratnavajra.

2. A translator, who is very easy to recognise because he collaborates very regularly with the Tibetan Śākya ye-śes, and who receives the names of Ratnaśrīmitra (*Rgyud*, XX, 13 and 14), Ratnavajra (*Rgyud*, IX, 3 and XX, 9, 11), Ratnaśrījñāna (*Rg*., XXI, 21).

3. A contemporary of Śākyaśrībhadra and of Vibhūticandra (*Rg*., IV, 17; *Rg*., LXXXIV, 5). This latter designated by the name

(*Contd.*)

where he supervised, so it seems, the rebuilding of the circular terrace of Bsam-yas, burned in 986, in which collaborated, so it is said, five hundred workers and artisans, including sculptors, goldsmiths, etc.[43] It is regrettable that this contribution of an eminent scholar to an architectural enterprise is not confirmed by another source. Doctors were not disinterested in works of art, but on the contrary they used to guide the craftsmen and control their work.

Let us add that Gzon-nu dpal presents Ratnavajra to us as a teacher of the Mahāmudrā[44] : in that subject he would have instructed Dam-pa Saṅs-rgyas [Paramabuddha], native of south India, and introducer in Tibet of the system zi-byed.[45]

Setting apart the *Yuktiprayoga* (*Mdo*, CXII, 27), inventoried as a work of logic (*hetuvidya*) and very short (only one page in Tibetan translation), all the work of Ratnavajra is dedicated to the Mantrayāna :

Cycle of Buddhasamayoga :

Srīsarvabuddhasamayogaḍākinījālaśambaramahatantrarājanamamaṇḍalopāyikā (*Rg*., XXV, 19) (50 p.)

of Urgyan-pa or O-dya-na-pa (*Mdo*, CXXIII, 1, 2, 35, 36), is indifferently named Ratnaśrī or Ratnaśrībhadra. He would have lived from 1227 to 1307.

The author (1) and the translator (2) are they confused ? *A priori*, nothing permits one to affirm it : the translator-collaborator of Śākya ye-śes is not, at any time, referred to as Kaśmīri, and nothing indicates that the Kaśmīri author had known Tibetan. Once only (*Rg*., XXII, 49), a short text edited by a Rin-chen rdo-rje-dpal, Ratnavajraśrī, has been translated by its author, without mention being made of a Tibetan collaborator.

Now the relationship of names can lead to error, since it is customary to bestow on a young monk a name which recalls that of an *upādhyāya* who sponsors him. After all, Rin-chen bzaṅ-po is himself also a Ratnabhadra, and the name of Rin-chen rdo-rje [Ratnavajra] is occassionally given to him (*Rg*., LXXIV, 47).

It is then with all proper reserves, in order not to incur the risk of a serious omission, that we are introducing, in the list of the Kaśmīri translators, Ratnaśrībhadra, giving him this name in preference to that of Ratnavajra, in order to recall to mind the difficulty the emphasising of which is the aim of this note.

43. *B.A.*, p. 378.
44. *B.A.*, p. 869.
45. On this subject, see Marcelle LALOU, *Les Religions du Tibet* and above, pp. 166-167, f.n. 35.

Cycle of Cakrasaṃvara :

Abhiṣekavidhikrama (*Rg.*, XIV, 16) (16 p.);
Śrīherūkasādhana (*Rg.*, XIII, 26) (12 p.).

Cycle of the Guhyasamāja :

Akṣobhyavajrasādhana (*Rg.*, XL, 13) (43 p.); various *sādhana* and minor *stotra*.[46]

As to the translations which can be attributed to Ratnavajra, they are not very numerous and are of little importance (in all, less than 80 pages for the writings we have already recognised with satisfying probability), but they revolve around the same subject, that is to say, essentially around some cycles of *Hevajra* and *Cakrasaṃvara*.[47]

46. Cycle of Cakrasaṃvara :
Śrīcakrasaṃvaramaṇḍalamaṅgalagāthā (*Rg.*, XIII, 27) (2 p.);
Śrīcakrasaṃvaramaṇḍaladevagaṇastotra (*Rg.*, XIV, 10) (3 p.);
Śrīcakrasaṃvarastotra (*Rg.*, XIV, 11) (3 p.).
Cycle of Hevajra :
Balikarmakrama (*Rg.*, XXII, 11) (5 p.);
Śrīhevajrastotra (*Rg.*, XXII, 16) (3 p);
Sarvapāpaśuddhanāgnipūjāsamādhi (*Rg.*, XXII, 49) (1 p.).
Cycle of Mahāmāyā :
Mahāmāyāsādhana (*Rg.*, XXIII, 28) (5 p.).
Various ("texts relating to the classification of the canon and texts concerning the rites of *vaśya* and *mocana*") :
Meghālokagaṇapatisādhana (*Rg.*, LXXII, 35) (2 p.);
Śrīnāthacaturmukhastotra (*Rg.*, LXXXII, 94) (2 p.);
Mantrarājasamayasiddhisādhana (*Rg.*, LXXXIII, 49) (3p.);
Āryajambhalastotra (*Rg.*, LXXXIII, 64) (3 p.);
Śrīcakrasaṃvarādvayavīrasādhana (*Rg.*, LXXXVI, 68) (3 p.).

47. List of translations done by Ratnaśrībhadra (see above note 42) :
Cycle of Cakrasaṃvara :
Guhyavajratantrarājavṛtti of "the ascetic" *Ḍombīheruka* (*Rg.*, IX, 3) (39 p.).
Cycle of Hevajra :
Gītittatva of Saroruhavajra (*Rg.*, XX, 9) (5 p.);
Abhisamayakrama, A.n.m. (*Rg.*, XX, 11) (6 p.);
Aṣṭaśmaśāna, A.n.m. (*Rg.*, XX, 13 and 14) (1 p.);
Saḍaṅganāmasādhana of Durjayacandra (*Rg.*, XXI, 21) (9 p.);
Tattvacaturopadeśa prasannadīpa nāma of Tailikapāda (*Rg.*, XXI, 24) (16 p.).

GUHYAPRAJÑA, THE RED MASTER-TEACHER

Doubtless, the most mysterious of Ratnavajra's student was GUHYAPRAJÑA. That *ācārya* was, Tāranātha tells us, a Kaśmīri Śivaite brahmin[48] who in his first religion had probably practised methods of mental creation : in any case, according to Tāranātha, he had "contemplated the face of Īśvara." After having been converted to Buddhism by Ratnavajra, he received the name of Gsaṅ-ba śes-rab which Schiefner translates as Guhyaprajña, restitution confirmed by the *Dpag-bsam ljon-bzaṅ*.[49] It is a question of the author whom Cordier calls Prajñagupta; the difference in the appellations is only due to the rendering in Sanskrit of the Tibetan name, which also appears, by interversion of the two elements, under the form Śes-rab gsaṅ-ba (the most frequent form in the *Blue Annals*).[50] At all events, Cordier had recognised in him Dmar-po or Śam-thabs dmar-po, the Red Master.[51]

As always, Gzon-nu dpal gives more complete data. According to him, Dmar-po, who lived "during the period preceding the coming of Atīśa to Mṅa'-ris", was a paṇḍit from Urgyan,[52] but he developed in Kaśmīri circles and "he became the disciple of Ratnavajra, the Kaśmīrian".[53] Dmar-po would have received instruction from Dam-pa, the predicant of the Sdug-sṅal zi-byed.[54] The chronology is formally opposed, if it is

48. *T.N.*, 241; *Rg.*, XXII, 50.
49. *P.S.J.Z.*, 118.
50. Guhyaprajña was teacher of Nāropā; but the *Blue Annals* (p. 120) and Tāranātha (p. 245) mention a certain Prajñārakṣita who was for twelve years the disciple of Nāropā. If those masters are indeed separate, their quasi-homonymy, which stresses the initiating filiation, can be at the origin of confusion, in particular in attribution of manuscripts.
51. *Rg.*, XXVI, 84 and XXII, 39. Is it a question of Rāhulabhadra or Rāhulavajra, collaborator of Marpa (*Rg.*, LXXIII, 33), sometimes called the Red (*Rg.*, LXXXII, 69 and 71), not to be confused with the pupil of Haribhadra bearing the same name or that of Saraha (see panel p. 94).
52. *B.A.*, p. 218.
53. *B.A.*, pp. 1049-1050.
54. *B.A.*, p. 871.

admitted that he received, when already elderly, some initiations from Dam-pa, still young. Moreover, Dam-pa would have been, we are told, pupil of the Kaśmīri Ratnavajra and Ravigupta :[55] but the context of the *Blue Annals*, where that information is to be found, hardly inspires confidence. It is only quite probable that Dam-pa, when making his way to Tibet, stayed temporarily in Kaśmīr.

The *Blue Annals* also tell us that Dmar-po went to Tibet,[56] probably to Sa-skya; then he preached the cycle of Tilaka and translated the *Phyag-chen thig-le rgyud*, the *Mahāmudrātilakatantra.*

The teaching of that master, perhaps badly interpreted, was made the subject of controversies in Tibet; for instance, Roerich mentions a categorical judgement by Las-chen Kun-rgyal-ba, historian belonging to the Sa -skya-pa sect : "The "Red' acārya, who had translated the *gSaṅ-sṅags Thig-le skor* [*Mantratilakacakra*], and compelled many monks to become laymen, was a preacher of heretical doctrine."[57]

In fact, it is necessary to take notice of two accusations brought against Dmar-po : that of heresy and that of immorality. The first is not without foundation, for he who is not accustomed. or who does not resign himself, to the invasion of Buddhism by Śivaism : Dmar-po is author of a *Śrīdeviparvatyupadeśa,* classified in the cycle of Nātha Mahākāla. It seems that for a Śivait of that epoch to be converted to Buddhism used to consist not in renouncing his previous religious beliefs but of integrating them in a vaster ensemble, all the while accepting the Buddhistic conception of the world and of the human state, previously harmonised with that of contemporary Hinduism.

As to the accusation of immorality, without doubt merited less by the master than by some of the disciples, lovers of ceremonies which could with difficulty pretend to be Buddhistic, it concerns the sexual practices and ritual murder, in Tibetan called respectively *sbyor* and *sgrol.*

55. *B.A.*, p. 869.
56. *B.A.*, p. 218.
57. *B.A.*, p. 1050.

The dubious reputation of Dmar-po is nothing in fact, compared with that acquired by the "eighteen brigand monks" (the *ar-cho ban-de bco-brgyad*), who, according to certain sources, would have been his disciples. Those brigand-monks used to kidnap travellers and sacrifice them in the course of ceremonies which could scarcely claim to come under the teaching of Buddha. Those abuses would be at the origin of the decision taken by Ye-ses'od to make Atīśa come to Tho-liṅ.[58]

The author of the *Rgyal-ba lṅa-pa'i rgyal-rabs*, while praising Dmar-po, whom he declares "a great *siddheśvara*" recognizes that "some monks who were not his equals in understanding misunderstood, the essence of the Tantras thus defiling their morality" (cited by Roerich, *B.A.*, 1050). Misconstruction of the teaching of a *tantra*, of what could that consist ? Apart from the permanent and intentional ambiguity of the *saṃdhyābhāṣā*, the vocabulary of which is sometimes susceptible of two when not of three meanings, it is necessary to remember that one of the aims of the Vajrayāna was to try experimentally to imagine vacuity considered as the ultimate reality of the created world. Under those conditions a ritual could thus be accomplished "mentally", having, for the one performing it, a reality as tangible as if actually experienced. Thus could be proved the amoralism of the Accomplished, of the *siddha*, not only without falling into the anti-moralism of the brigand-monks, but indeed refraining from all immorality : it was urgent that Atīśa should remind the Tibetans that pure conduct is as indispensable to progress towards *Nirvāṇa* as mental exercise.

From that strange personage, very representative, after all, of one of the tendencies of contemporary Buddhism, we possess some minor texts, attached to the *Hevajratantra* series, of which the *Tilakatantra* comprises a sort of appendix. The most extensive are : the *Abhiṣekaratnāloka*, of the cycle of Tilaka (*Rg.*, XXII, 47) (20 p. in Tibetan translation)[59] and the

58. *B.A*,, p. 697.
59. One could not pretend to furnish a complete list of writings of Dmar-po, because that author risks concealing his origin under other names. The manuscripts clearly attributable to him in addition to those enumerated above, are the following :
Works belonging to the cycle of Tilaka :
Śrīmahāratnakalānāmasādhanopāyikā (*Rg.*, XXII, 45) (17 p.);
Śrīratnabindunāmasādhanopāyikā (*Rg.*, XXII, 46) (3 p.);
Abhiṣekaratnamālopadeśa (*Rg.*, XXII, 52) (3 p.);
Saṃkṣiptābhiṣekakrama (*Rg.*, XXII, 53) (3 p.);
Pañcakrama (*Rg.*, XXII, 54) (2 p.).

Works belonging to the series of Hevajra :
Ānandacakṣur nāma ṭīkā (*Rg.*, XX, 3) (12 p.);
Āryavajratārāsādhana (*Rg.*, XXII. 39) (19 p.). (*Contd.*)

Aṣṭāṅgakrama (*Rg*., XXII, 55) (50 p.) attached to the same cycle; the *Abhiṣekavidhi*, belonging to the series on the masculina energies of the *Hevajratantra* (*Rg*., XXII, 7) (35 p.).

NĀROPĀ, TEACHER OF THE SIX DOCTRINES

Nāḍapāda (Rca-śad-pa), better known by his middle Indian name Nāropā was, we are told, Kaśmīri. Tucci calls him *il piu celebre dei siddhas o asceti kashmiri*, (the most famous of Kaśmīri *siddha* and ascets), and certainly, Nāropā had many links with Kaśmīri and adjacent regions. But was he really Kaśmīri ? We would like to be able to prove it. In fact, despite a series of hints which point towards Kaśmīr or Uḍḍiyāna, nothing in the texts we have consulted permits us to fix Nāropā's origin with absolute certainty. It is a lesson in method and modesty at the same time : because, in this case, it is the superabundance of documentation which urges prudence.

Albert Grünwedel dedicated part of his life to study of the powerful and mysterious personality of Nāropā, without result in proportion to his effort.[60]

Very recently, Herbert V. Guenther published a translation of the Tibetan manuscript entitled *Mkhas grub mñam-med dpal-ldan Nā-ro-pā'i rnam-par thar-pa dri-med legs-bśad bde-chen 'brug-sgra*, accompanied by a philosophical commentary and some notes.[61] That work, of which it is

The *Śrīvajrayoginīsādhana* (*Rg*., LXXIV, 8) (3 p.) is classed in the diverse "*Upadeśa* of recent incorporation etc.").

Finally, the *Śrīdevipārvatyupadeśa* (*Rg*., XXVI, 84) (4 p.), classified in the series of Nātha Kāla was edited by Dmar-po at the request of the *guru* Prajña. That personage, author of *Rg*., XLIV, 4 and LXI, 6, would have been a teacher of Dmar-po. Is it a question of Prajñabhadra, that is to say, of Tillopa ?

60. The biographical notices he translated and commented, are to be found in the following writings :
Taranātha's Edelsteinmine, das Buch von der Vermittlern der sieben Inspirationen, Bibl. Bud., XVIII, Petrograd, 1914, p. 74;
Die Geschichten der vierundachzig Zauberer, Baessler Archiv, V, 1916;
Die Legenden des Nā-ro-pā, des Hauptvertreters des Nekromanten- und Hexentums, Leipzig, 1933.
Giuseppe Tucci has made, on this last work some interesting remarks (*A propos the legend of Nāropā*).

61. Herbert V. GUENTHER, *The life and teaching of Nāropā-Translated from the original Tibetan with philosophical commentary based on the oral transmission*, in-8°, XVI-292 p., Oxford, 1963.

not possible to present here a detailed criticism, offers considerable interest as much for the material it furnishes as for certain reservations, therefore, reflection, which it suscitates.

That life of Nāropā, edited and translated by Grünwedel in 1933, tells us that the great magician, who would have lived 115 years (924-1039, according to Grünwedel) was born at Śrīnagara; but that Śrīnagara, we are told, was part of Bengal, and the city would be called Jam-bu, that is to say Jambū (*'Jam-bu'i gliṅ las kyaṅ rgya-gar śar phyogs bhaṅ-ga-la'i bye brag śri-na-ga-ra'i groṅ-khyer jam-bu śes-bya-ba*). In India there are several cities bearing the name Śrīnagara : the capital of Kaśmīr is only the most renowned of them. Another is situated on the Ganges, upstream from Haridvār. We do not know of any in Bengal.

But, according to *The mine of precious stones* of Tāranātha, Nāropā would have been born in a family of Kaśmīri brahmins. He would have been converted to Buddhism one day when, in a shop retailing alcohol, he sat down near a Buddhist who was copying a *sūtra*. The alcohol retail shop appears again in *The story of the eighty-four Magicians*, but this time it is Nāropā himself who, from birth, belonged to the cast of tavern-keepers. Then he became a trader in wood at Sālaputra, in the east of India. Afterwards he sought out Tillopā at Bhi-gu-na-ga-ra (Viṣṇu-nagara, Grünwedel) and served him at the cemetery of Kāñcī. There is scarcely anything reliable to extract from all that.

The more dependable indications are definitely those furnished by the colophons of the Tibetan translations. The *mahāsiddha* would be a native of Urgyan, according to the colophon of *Rg.*, LXXIII, 5; from Kaśmīr according to *Rg.*, LXXXI, 2. Yaśobhadra would be from Kaśmīr, according to *Rg.*, XVII, 2.[62] It is possible to admit that, if he was not born in the Kaśmīr valley, doubtless he came originally from an adjacent region, for which at that epoch Kaśmīr was the cultural pole; at all events he studied over and over again in Kaśmīr.

The very texts which affirm Nāropā's eastern origin confirm it. From his youth the future *siddha* declared his desire to betake himself to Kaśmīr : "As his interest was fixed only on the *dharma* he said to his relatives : for research on the *dharma*, I ought to go to Kaśmīr and study there".[63]

62. Tāranātha names a Yaśomitra otherwise unknown who would have lived during the reign of Śrīharṣa of Kaśmīr (*T.N.*, 205). Could it refer to Nāropā whom he would not have been able to recognise under the name of Yaśobhadra ?

63. *Life and Teaching*, p. 10.

Again he insists: "I should not remain here; but I want to go to Kaśmīr for research on the *dharma*".[64] His mother then gave him permission, and when eleven years of age he arrived in Kaśmīr. "He stayed three years in Kaśmīr and became an erudite scholar in the five branches of study." Later, as a novice wishing to receive ordination, he again went to Kaśmīr at Puna, we are told.[65] He stayed three years in Kaśmīr before going to Phullahari, then to Nālandā.

There is the same uncertainty about the famous hermitage (*dgon-pa*) of Phullahari (Me-tog brcegs-pa) or Puṣpahari (Buṣpahari, *Rg.*, LXXIII, 27). Certain inquests place it in western Magadha: that is the localisation to which adhere P. Cordier ("close to Monghir"),[66] J. Bacot ("at Monghir a hundred kilometers to the north of Nālandā"),[67] and Roerich ("near Nālandā")[68]. The biography of Chos-rje dpal, the *lo-cā-ba* of Chag (died 1264), re-edited by one of his disciples[69], describes it thus: "The Dharmasvāmin said that Nāropā's hermitage Phullahari was situated in a forest North of Nālandā, a tumbled down straw hut with three crooked doors, surrounded by numerous huts, without an encircling wall, and that even now, some people used to stay there."[70]

But according to a legend still current in western Tibet, that hermitage would have been situated in Kaśmīr not far from Śrīnagar.[71] The colophon of *Rg.*, LXXIII, 27, equally specifies "in Kaśmīr". A complementary indication on this delicate and important point is supplied by Lawrence in his book *The Valley of Kashmir*.[72] The British traveller had as informant an old lama from Ladakh who he said, seemed

64. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
66. *Catalogue*, concerning *Rg.*, LXXIII, 11.
67. *Vie de Marpa.*
68. *B.A.*, p. 400.
69. In 1959, G. ROERICH published a translation of that biography, under the title *Biography of Dharmasvāmin Chag lo-cā-ba Chos-rje-dpal, a Tibetan monk pilgrim, Translated by G. Roerich*, Patna, Sayaswal Research Institute, 1959.
70. P. 85; see also *B.A.*, p. 757.
71. ROERICH, *B.A*,, p. 400.
72. London, 1895.

well acquainted with the ancient Buddhist sites of Kaśmīr. That lama told Sir Walter that the Gopādri, to the north of Pandrēthan, was a sacred place for Buddhists, who used to call it Puṣpahari : would that holy place be Nāropā's hermitage? In any case, it is quite remarkable that more than three centuries before Nāropā that region had enjoyed great veneration, which is echoed by Hiouan-ts'ang.[73]

Nāropā was also known under other names : Yaśobhadra (Sñan-grags bzaṅ-po) and Jñānasiṃha (Ye-śes seṅ-ge) (*Rg.*, III, 4).[74] Many others again have been attributed to him in the course of his career, according to the book translated by Guenther :

> Kun-tu bzaṅ-po [Samantabhadra] (name from birth) (p. 9);
> Nam-mkha'i sñiṅ-po [Gaganagarbha] (name of laic discipline) (p. 11);
> Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes [Buddhajñāna] (name as *śramaṇera*) (p. 18);

73. See above pp. 39-40. The Chinese pilgrim points out, in fact, that Kaśmīr used to possess a miraculous tooth of the Buddha, preserved in a *saṅghārama* situated about 10 *li* southeast of the new capital, and to the north of the old. Aurel Stein, who uses this information in order to place Purāṇādhiṣṭhana, does not trouble to situate with greater precision the convent about which Hiouan-ts'ang speaks. Now, if one tries to transfer to a map the data furnished by the Chinese pilgrim, one perceives that the monastery sheltering the tooth of the Buddha must have stood on the slopes east of the Gopādri, doubtless close to the crest which joins that peak to the massif which rises above Śrīnagar towards the east and which, at that spot, slopes down to form a col in our day called Aitagaj, because it permits the rays of the rising sun. That pass is marked by a track which links the two capitals on the eastern bank of the Ḍal, and it is perhaps near this track that used to stand the *saṅghārama* mentioned by Hiouan-ts'ang and the hermitage of Nāropā.

    As to the city of Paṭṭikeraka, where Nāropā explained the *Vajrapadasārasaṃgrabapañjikā* at the request of Vinayaśrīmitra and other Kaśmīri monks from the *vihāra* of (Kanakastūpa) (*Rg.*, XVII, 2) it seems logical to situate it in Kaśmīr or in western Tibet. Now, the name of the *vihāra* of *dpal gser-gyi mchod-rten* makes one think of the celebrated *gser-gyi gcug-lag khaṅ* of Tho-liṅ. Would Paṭṭikeraka be a name for Tho-liṅ ?

74. It is very likely that Cordier had borrowed those identifications from the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*.

Chos-kyi rgyal-mohan [Dharmadhvaja] (name as *bhikṣu*) (p. 19);
Bstan-pa'jin-pa [Śāsanadhara] (name when senior) (p. 20);
'Jigs-med grags-pa [Abhayakīrti] (name as Abbot) (p. 21).

Above all, it would be important to know if Nāropā is indeed the same as Abhayakīrti, famous erudite worshipper of the Kālacakra. In any case, the *Blue Annals* seem to ignore that identification. Let us note, nevertheless, that Abhayakīrti is sometimes referred to as Kaśmīri.[75]

According to the *Story of the eighty-four magicians*, Nāropā was initiated in the Kālacakratantra in a cemetery situated in Kāñcī, but which perhaps was only the hermitage of Puṣpahari,[76] by the mysterious Tailikapāda, Tilopā. Heir himself of various *guru* and *ḍākinī*, that important and vaguely known master teacher is attached, through the intermediary of the black *Ācārya* (Kṛṣṇapāda), to Vajravārāhī, "to the diamond sow", *śakti* of Hevajra, which evokes certain aspects of Kālī and like her, receives the appellation of Kālarātrī.[77]

But Nāropā had many teachers, among them Kālacakrapāda Senior, who is perhaps the same as Tilopā and, according to *Rg.*, XIII, 24, Dmar-po.[78]

Nāropā is more especially the expounder of the "six doctrines" (*chos drug*). Setting apart the mysterious technique

75. *Rg.*, LXXIII, 11.
76. *B.A.*, p. 757.
77. *B.A.*, pp. 385, 754 and 893.
78. Let us note that Nāropā had two tutors whose name enclose the word *prajñā* as the first element : in fact Tilopā receives the name of Prajñābhadra (*Rg.*, XIII, 24), and Dmar-po that of Prajñāgupta. That concerdance poses a problem which we have not been able to solve : what connections could have existed between Tailikapāda and Dmar-po ? The personality of Tailikapāda is so enigmatic that it would be possible to limit oneself to supposing that it concerns one and the same personage .

On the subject of the identification of Kālacakrapāda Senior and of Tilopā, see above, pp. 152-154.

of the *parakāyapraveśa*[79], the two practices which are most frequently questioned are : that of the illusory Body (*sgyu-lus, māyākāya*), and that of mental Creation during sleep (*svapna-bhāvanā*).[80]

The *Nā-ro-pā'i chos-drug* is a manual of *yoga* practice very famous in Tibet, according to G. Tucci who even affirms that that book throws light on the "psycho-analytical science of the East". In fact, Nāropā was very attached to the study of dreams. He used to claim that "one with perfect faculties, can understand (his) dreams after one years practice[81]".

The study of dreams was then, it seems in favour. The *Vijñānabhairava*, Śivaite text considered in Kaśmīr as an *āgamā*, speaks of the "mastery of dreams" (*svapnasvātantrya*); "If one meditates on the energy (of breath) thick and very feeble in the domain of the *dvādaśānta* and (at the moment of falling asleep) imbues into one's own heart; thus meditating one will obtain control over dreams."[82] Abhinavagupta, contemporary of Nāropā, devoted a whole chapter of the *Tantrāloka*, chapter XXV, to study of the activity of the imagination during sleep and some instructions about conscious sleep; fresh proof of community of research, while remaining very natural.

Buddhists, who have been the master psychologists of India, themselves also probed, during the middle Ages, into the resources of the unconscious, but somehow one feels the word "psycho-analytical" to be unsuitable; since it designates a method of enquiry which, as far as it is possible to be affirmative on the subject, the Indians or their Tibetan pupils never practised.[83]

79. See on the folkloric aspect of this "transfer" of animation, the note of J. BACOT, in the *Vie de Marpa*. Marpa, who had learned that technique from his master, was the last to practice it, at least in that line of instruction, animating the dead body of pigeon. The secret was lost after him (BACOT, *Vie de Marpa*, p. 70).

    Mircea ELIADE furnishes on this subject, in his book on ***Yoga*** (n. IV, 3, p. 380), an interesting bibliography, from which it was necessary to extract in particular EVANS-WENTZ, ***Tibetan Yoga and secret doctrines*** (Oxford, 1935, pp. 26 sq.).

    It is also known that, according to legend, Śaṅkarānanda would have practised erotic techniques without swerving from the chastity of the *brahmacārin*, animating the body of the king of Kaśmīr, Amaru.
80. *B.A.*, pp. 526, 730.
81. *B.A.*, p. 735.
82. Lilian SILBURN, *Le Vijñāna Bhairava*, Paris, 1961, p. 100.
83. The word psycho-analyse would not be able, in any way, to designate the whole of the investigation methods into the unconscious; it is

(***Contd.***)

Now, that research is expressed in texts voluntarily obscure, encumbered with abundant magic scoria, which neighbours philosophical considerations and the results of experimental observations. On the other hand, the Indian methods are to us completely strange : they consist essentially in creation of what it is fitting to call hallucinatory states, using a clinical vocabulary, while all the time being conscious of the insufficiency of that vocabulary, since those states remain submissive to control of the will. That goes for states of pathological appearance (*krodha*), in reality not thus as long as it is possible to evade them, which otherwise is not always the case, since the texts mention subjects having sunk into madness. Several writers have had a forebading of the importance of the research of the later Buddhists in that sphere, so inadequately explored; and again a century ago such research was disdainfully rejected by scholars as proof of a perverse decadence of Buddhism.[84] Guenther's work, already mentioned, on this matter carries documentation difficult to interpret but of great interest.

Now, it seems that the master-teacher in this research is precisely our Nāropā : of the *Vajrācārya* it is perhaps he who has most efficaciously meditated on the very nature of the techniques of the Vajrayāna, that is to say, on interpretation of the texts he was commenting—certainly going beyond the thinking of their author using his own spirit of research as stretcher of the frame of tradition.[85]

The principal manuscripts due to Nāropā are the *Vajrapadasārasaṃgrahapañjikā* and the *Paramārthasaṃgraha nāma Sekoddeśāṭīkā*; the first of these books the Tibetan translation of which covers some 201 pages (*Rg*., XVII, 2), is a commentary on the *Hevajratantra*, which Nāropā, here called

applied to a particular method of study of the unconsciousness of an individual, whether practised for a therapeutic purpose or not.

84. Various times G. TUCCI has been on the verge of this aspect of later Buddhistic ritual : it is significant that his work *Teoria e pratica del Maṇḍala*, published in a collection of books on modern psychology, carries as subtitle "Con particolare riguardo alla moderna psicologia del profondo".

Jung, in psychology curious about all observable phenomena, is equally interested to the extent that he had access to the researches of the late Buddhists. See in particular : *The Tibetan book of the great liberation, or the method of realizing Nirvāṇa through knowing the mind*, edited by W.Y. EVANSWENTZ, with psychological commentary by Dr. E.G. JUNG.

85. Concerning other aspects of the current of thought and research of which Nāropā is the most eminent representative, see our article on conceptions of time and space in the Śivaism *trika* and later Buddhism (to appear later).

Yaśobhadra, of Kaśmīr, explained to Vinayaśrīmitra and other Kaśmīri monks, in the city of Paṭṭikeraka, at the *vihāra* of the Kanaka-stūpa. The second (*Rg.*, III, 4) (158 p. in Tibetan translation) is consecrated to the ritual of the initiation of the *Kālacakratantra*, but the importance of that commentary justifies the subtitle given to it ; like the original Sanskrit manuscript exists in the Bodleian Library, it is one of the essential study sources for knowledge about the Kālacakra.[86] The edition of it, published by Mario Carelli, in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* is preceded by an interesting introduction, which constitutes the clearest of what has been written in European language on the most unusual of the Tantric cycles.

The *Śrīhevajranāmatantrārthasaṃgraha* (*Rg.*, XVIII, 2) (73 p.) was also "expounded" by Nāropā. Two manuscripts have been dedicated by the *Mahāsiddha* to the Guhyasamāja cycle : the *Sarvaguhyapradīpaṭikā* (*Rg.*, XXVIII, 3) (71 p.) and the *Śrīguhyasamājopadeśa pañcakrama* (*Rg.*, LXXXI, 2) (24 p).

Of much lesser importance, Nāropā's other writings are all devoted to different Tantric cycles, including the Nāthakāla and the Mātṛkā.[87]

86. *Sekoddeśaṭīkā of Nādapāda (Nāropā) being a commentary of the Sekoddeśa Section of the Kālacakra Tantra* (Gaekwad Oriental Series, Vol. XC, Baroda, 1941).

87. The minor works of NĀROPĀ are divided thus among the different series :

Cycle of Śambara :
Ekavīraherukasādhana nāma (*Rg.*, XIII, 25) (1 page and 5 lines);
Vajrayoginīsādhana (*Rg.*, XIV, 60) (1 p.).

Cycle of Hevajra :
Śrīhevajrasādhana (*Rg.*, XXI, 68) (5 p.);
Nairātmāmaṇḍalacakrasādhana (*Rg.*, XXII, 25) (7 p);
Ratnaprabhā nāma (*Rg.*, XXII, 56) (17 p.).

Cycle of Mātṛkā :
Dharmābhiṣekamārgasaṃhati (*Rg.*, XXVI, 66) (2 p.);
Śrīdevīmahākālīsādhanapāyikā (*Rg.*, XXVI, 95) (11 p.).

Cycle of Doha :
Vajragīti (*Rg.*, XLVII, 30) (2 lines);

(*Contd.*)

The importance of Nāropā's predication for Tibetan Buddhism is in great part due to the personality of his favourite pupil, Chos-kyi blo-gros, that is to say Mar-pa, himself teacher of Mi-la ras-pa.

In collaboration with Mar-pa, Nāropā translated a certain number of manuscripts written by himself, but, to say the truth, apart from the *Śrīguhyasamājopadeśa pañcakrama*, they are only secondary works.[88] Nāropā was very much more instructor than traslator ; it is probable that he knew Tibetan very badly, it at all. Besides, Mar-pa was very much younger than he and he had not time to work close to his master as long as he would have wished.

It is not possible to speak of Nāropā without mentioning his "spouse", his *prajñā* or, as is often said, his "sister", Karmakarī, very much better known by the name of Niguma. That *jñānaḍākinī (ye-śes mkha'- 'gro-ma)* is at the origin of

Vajragīti (*Rg*., XLVII, 31) (4 lines);
Nāḍapaṇḍitagītikā (*Rg*., XLVIII, 26) (5 lines).

Cycle of the Utpādanakrama :
Śatākṣarabhaṭṭārakasya sattvatrayabhāvanā (*Rg*., XLVIII, 57) (11 p.).

Various texts concerning the ritual :
Śrīguhyaratna cintāmaṇi (*Rg*., LXXIII, 20) (10 p.);
Śrīcakraśambaravikurvaṇa caturviṃśatideśapramaṇśāsana (*Rg*., LXXIII, 25) (10 p.);
Śrīvajrayoginīguhyasādhana (*Rg*., LXXIV, 2) (5 p.);
Vajrayoginīsādhana (*Rg*., LXXIV, 7) (1 p);
Pañcakramasaṃgraha prabhāva (*Rg*., LXXXI, 3) (4 p.);
Śrīmatīdevīmahākālīguhyasādhana (*Rg*., LXXXII, 101) (3 p);
Gurusiddhi (*Rg*., LXXXIV, 4) (1 p.).

88. The other translation due to the collaboration of NĀROPĀ and MAR-PA are the following :
Pañcakramasaṃgraha prabhāva;
Śrīmatīdevīmahākāliguhyasādhana;
Śrīguhyaratna cintāmaṇi;
Vajrayoginisādhana.

They also translated together at Puṣpahari :
Ṣaḍdharmopadeśa of TILLOPĀ (*Rg*., LXXIII, 27) (2 p.);
Karṇatantravajragāthā (*Rg*., LXXIII, 29) (4 p.) and
Śricakrasaṃvarasādhana of ABHAYAKĪRTI (*Rg*., LXXXIII, 11) (25 p.).

a line of teaching of the "six doctrines".[89] She drew up a certain number of very short works, which she herself translated in the company of Mar-pa.[90] Above all she is an example of those *yoginī*, enveloped, rightly or wrongly by a mysterious and terrible[91] aureole, often remaining cultured women, who assist *vajrācārya* in their research and in their exercises.

BODHIBHADRA, THE FIRST INTRODUCER OF THE KĀLACAKRA IN TIBET

The teaching of the Kaśmīri Bodhibhadra[92] (Byaṅ-chub bzaṅ-po) belongs to around the year 1000, but its chronological situation is difficult to date with precision. The author of the *Blue Annals* is not making a mistake when he declares : "It seems to me that Śrī Bhadrabodhi...was the person who had translated the Kālacakra with Gyi-jo".[93]

89. *B.A.*, p. 728.
90. List of her works incorporated in the *Bstan-'gyur* :
    Hevajramaṇḍalavidhi (*Rg.*, XXII, 8) (3 p.);
    Cakrasaṃvarasādhana (*Rg*,, LXXIII, 34) (4 p.);
    Cakrasaṃvarasādhanavidhi (*Rg.*, LXXIII, 35) (4 p.);
    Mahāmarajñāna (*Rg.*, LXXIII, 36) (3 p.);
    Mahāmudrāsaṃpuṭavajragathā (*Rg.*, LXXIII, 37) (2 p.);
    Svayaṃmuktimahāmudrā (*Rg.*, LXXIII, 38) (1 p.);
    Dhanadharmatraya (*Rg.*, LXXIII, 39) (3 p.);
    Māyādhanakrama (*Rg.*, LXXIII, 40) (22 p.);
    Māyādhanakramavṛtti (*Rg.* LXXIII, 41) (46 p.);
    Nāḍīvikasānopadeśa (*Rg.*, LXXIII, 42) (4 lines);
    Nādyādibhāvanā (*Rg.*, LXXIII, 43) (1 p.);
    Upāyamārgacaṇḍāiikābhāvanā (*Rg.*, LXXIII, 44) (1 p.);
    Upāyamārgabhāvaṇāyoga (*Rg.*, LXXIII, 45) (1 p.);
    Svaśarīranāḍīcakra (*Rg.*, LXXIII, 46) (6 lines);
    Praṇidhānaraja (*Rg.*, LXXIII, 47) (4 p.).
91. Niguma herself, when she had become invisible, appeared to Khyuṅ-po rnal-'byor, to whom she communicated several of the above-mentioned texts, at the So-ra gliṅ, where she used to preside some *gaṇacakra* at a height of 8 *tāla* : she manifested her various aspects dancing, the skin dark, ornaments made of bone, holding in her hands a *khatvāṅga* and a *kāpala :* frightening apparition of a *ḍākinī* eater of human flesh. (*B.A.*, pp. 730-731).
92. The Kasmīri origin of whom is confirmed in particular by the *Blue Annals*, p. 384 (Kra-che Byaṅ-chub bzaṅ-po).
93. *B.A.*, p. 766.

Well, he had earlier[94] endeavoured to justify the tradition which gives the translations of Kālacakra texts by Gyi-jo (and Bodhibhadra) as the most ancient: "The arrival of *paṇḍita* Somanātha took place during the last part of the life of Gra-pa mṅon-śes, who used to say that, in his youth, he had heard the Kālacakra from his uncle". There would then be an interval of time of several decades between the predication of Bodhibhadra and that of Somanātha. In another passage of the *Blue Annals*, Gzon-nu dpal echoes a tradition according to which the translation of the Kālacakra by Gyi-jo would date exactly from the first year additional to the term of the first cycle of 403 years (after 623), may be from 1027 then.

It seems certain that Bhadrabodhi has been Nāropā's student: Gzon-nu dpal is explicit on this point, and from him he would have received initiation into several Tantric cycles, to the Cakrasaṃvara and the Kālacakra.[95] Thus the Kaśmīri Bodhibhadra is found to be "brother" of the Nepalese Pham-mthiṅ-pa (who, after all, is perhaps the guardian of the gate Vāgīśvarakīrti, as claims Roerich (p. 227), or his "brother" (*sṅa-ma'i mched-po*), as affirms Gzon-nu dpal, p. 384): in order to be clearer, let us understand that they received initiation from the same "father" Nāropā. Moreover, he is said to be a student of Kālacakrapāda the Young: that is the opinion of *bla-ma* 'Od-zer-ba,[96] and comes doubtless to the same. That tradition could indeed have been created at a time when it was thought, rightly or wrongly, that Kālacakrapāda the Young was a cognomen of Nāropā, as affirmed by Pad-ma dkar-po.[97]

94. *B.A.*, p. 755.
95. *B.A.*, pp. 382 and 384.
96. *B.A.*, p. 761.
97. One is more astonished to read at another place in the *Blue Annals*: "Śrībhadrabodhi, father of Kālacakrapāda the Young" (*B.A.*, p. 766). It is doubtless a misprint; besides the author continues: "It is also established that a Nālandā-pa, disciple of Kālacakrapāda the Young, visited Tibet at a certain time." Without doubt, that sentence confirms the preceding one.

(*Contd.*)

Bodhibhadra was especially an instructor and translator. The index of the *Bstan-'gyur* attributes to him the *Kālacakra-gaṇitamukhādeśa (Mdo,* CXXXIII, 4) (25 p.), but that attribution is not confirmed in the colophony. Moreover, we do not think that it is appropriate to assign to him the authorship of the *Śrīkālacakragarbhālaṅkārasādhana*, as does P. Cordier (*Rg.*, IV, 12) (23 p). The composer of that *sādhana* is in fact only referred to as *Mahāpaṇḍitabrāhmana* Paiṇḍapātika, from the land of the seas of south. *Mkhas-pa chen-po bram-ze bsod-sñoms-pa*). It doubtless concerns the *ācārya* Piṇḍo whom it is hardly possible to identify as Bodhibhadra.[98] On the contrary, Bodhibhadra translated that

Let us notice also, concening the connections between Bodhibhadra and Kālacakrapāda the Young that the author of the *Kālacakrafaṇitamukhādeśa* is named Dus zabs-pa chuṅ-ba (Kālacakrapāda the Young) Bodhibhadra, in the index of the *Bstan-'gyur* concerning *Mdo*, CXXXIII, 4. One sees that the relative data are quite divergent, but we would be somewhat disposed to accept that last identification, a Dus'khor-ba [Kālacakrapāda] figures, in fact, among Nāropā's students. The *Dpag-bsam ljon-bzaṅ*, which, without great critical spirit, resorts to any shift, speaks successively of Byaṅ-bzaṅ, born in Orissa, who occupied at Vikramaśīla the chair of guardian of the North gate, following Nāropā (p. 118); of Byaṅ-bzaṅ, from Kaśmīr, paṇḍit of Vikramaśīla (p. 120); and of Bodhibhadra, *upāsaka* from the Magadha, of the same epoch (p. 122).

98. The *Dus-kyi 'khor-lo'i bsdus-don* of Bsod-nams 'od-zer-ba (*B.A.*, p. 761) attributes the introduction of the Kālacakra in India to a monk named Bsod-sñoms-pa, that is to say, Paiṇḍapātika : one recognizes the Sanskrit form of which the vernacular equivalent is translated by the Tibetans Piṇḍo-pa, or Piṭo-pa, or even Biḍopa (which is interpreted by S.C. Das as a deformation of Viṭopa). It is actually, very much more a title than a proper name. It means "who lives on charity" (*piṇḍapāta*) and definitely, quite simply "ascetic", like its more usual equivalent in bramanical literature : *piṇḍapātin*. That title could have been borne by two different personages, but the Boddhibhadra who busied himself with the Kālacakra is not a native from the South seas.

We also think that Gzon-nu dpal was right to critise (p. 763) the tradition which identifies Piṇḍo and Vāgīśvarakirti, and which he himself echoes in another place (pp. 757-758). Here is, *in extenso*, the important passage to which we allude :

"In particular, the one who was called Piṇḍo-ācārya was stated by some to have been the Teacher of Kālacakrapāda the Senior, and

(*Contd.*)

work into Tibetan in collaboration with Zla-ba'i 'od-zer of Gyi-jo, as well as the manuscript classed in volume Pu of the *Rgyud-'grel* and entitled *Kālacakratantra (hṛdaya) vṛtti vimala-prabhā nāma (Rg.*, LXXIII, 5), but which is not more than 13 pages long, and the *Kālacakragarbha (Rgyud-'bum*, 364) (4 p.). With Mar-pa, he translated the *Śrībhagavadvajraśum-bhamahākrodharājasarvaduṣṭavidārasādhana* (*Rg.*, LXXXIII, 69) (5 p.).

That collaboration confirms a passage of the *Blue Annals*,[99] where Bodhibhadra is named among the teachers of Mar-pa. Another student of that *ācārya*, become more renowned than his master, is Atīśa; and that permist one to identify in a certain way Bodhibhadra and Vajrabodhi, equally Kaśmīri (*Rg.*, XIII, 56), equally collaborator of Mar-pa and of Zla-ba'i 'od-zer.[100]

again by others to have been the disciple of Kālacakrapāda. Some maintain that he (Piṇḍo) was identical with Ṅag-gi dbaṅ-phyug grags-pa. They seem to imply that he was Ṅag-gi dbaṅ-phyug, one of the four gatekeepers (of Vikramaśīla), but this does not seem to be possible. Because in the treatise Yan-lag bdun-ldan (*Saptāṅga*, Tg. rGyud, No. 1888), composed by him (*i.e.* by the gatekeeper Ṅag-gi dbaṅ-phyug), he expressed many different views on the fourth initiation, but never mentioned the system of Kālacakra" (p. 763).

99. *B.A.*, p. 244.

100. Bodhibhadra the Kaśmīri, did he frequent the University of Somapurī, where he would have been the student of Mahāmati ? A certain Bodhibhadra of Somapurī is the author of the *Rahas-yānandatilaka* (*Rg.*, XXII, 59) and the colophon adds that Bodhi-bhadra is a synonym of Mahāmati. The same author would have edited the *Samādhisambhāraparivarta* (*Mdo.*, XXX, 18 and XXXIII, 67). P. CORDIER attributes to the same author the *Gurulekha*, (*Mdo*, CXIV, 31), addressed to Mahāmati by one of his students, only designated by the title of *āraṇyaka* : new enigma (see below pp. 223-224, but, after all, Mahāmati certainly had more than one student ! All those writings have been translated into Tibetan by the *lo.* Chos-kyi śes-rab, frequent collaborator of Vinayacandra.

Now a transmission presented on two occasions in the *Blue Annals*, as transmission from the *Kālacakra* (p. 754), and from the *Pañcakrama* (p. 803) interposes a Bhadrapāda, pupil of Kṛṣṇapāda (who is perhaps Ratnavajra, *cf.* above, p. 165, n. 31) and, master of Vinayapāda (p. 803); that name is replaced in the other transmission by Vijayapāda. That Bhadrapāda, is he the

(*Contd.*)

The most extensive translation effected by Bodhibhadra and Zla-ba'i 'od-zer is that of the *ṭīkā* of the *Saṃpuṭatilakanāmayoginītantrarāja*, entitled *Smṛtisaṃdarśanāloka* (*Rg*., XVIII, 6) (516 p.), of king Indrabhūti, a work which moreover dose not belong to the Kālacakra but to the Hevajra cycle.

To the series of the Nāmasaṅgīti belongs the *Nāmasaṃgītyupasaṃhāravitarka* of Advayavajra (*Rg*., XLIV, 3) (26 p.) translated in collaboration with the *lo-cā-ba* Bsod-nams rgyal-mchan.

Bodhibhadra also translated a manuscript of Ratnavajra, the *Vajravidāraṇīnāmadhāraṇīmaṇḍalayathākramaprakriyā* (*Rg*., LXIX, I) (19 p.) in collaboration with the *lo-cā-ba* Chul-dge rin-chen.

THE REVEREND LAKṢMĪ

Few provinces have given to India as many famous women as Kaśmīr. Among so many master-teachers, a nun, named Lakṣmī [dge-sloṅ-ma Dpal-mo] figures in the transmission of the cycle of the Mahākāruṇika. She comes indeed at the head of the transmission of "the detailed exposition" of that cycle, which she would have transmitted to Dpal-gyi bzaṅ-po [Śrībhadra], who in turn would have communicated it to Rin-chen bzaṅ-po, from whom Atīśa would have received it.[101] Now, a brahmīn called Śrībhadra, or even Sūryaketu, was teacher of Sajjana, grandson of Ratnavajra. Lakṣmī and Ratnavajra would have belonged then to the same generation.[102] Another pointer confirms that chronology : Karopa, disciple of Maitrīpā, studied the *Anuttaratantra* closed to the Kaśmīri lady Lakṣmī the Great.[103]

Bodhibhadra of Somapuri, named only Subhadra (*Rg*., LX, 1 to 30), Vinayapāda then being Vinayacandra ? Let us add that Chos-kyi śes-rab translated some of the writings of Kṛṣṇapāda and collaborated with that author (*Rg*., XII, 12; LXXII, 8 and 16 ; *Mdo*, XXVII, 2; XXX, 19; XXXI, 7, etc.). The context in which those two transmissions are found (*Kālacakra*) would permit identification of that Bodhibhadra of Somapuri with the Kaśmīri.

101. *B.A.*, p. 1044.

102. But Śrībhadra is perhaps Bhadrapāda, pupil of Kṛṣṇapāda, that is to say Bodhibhadra, student of Ratnavajra...(*cf*. above, p. 165, n. 31).

103. *B.A.*, p. 847.

That nun, who enjoyed a special blessing from Avalokiteśvara, is initiatress of a strange ritual of propitiation of the great compassionate One through fasting, which she taught to *paṇḍita* Yes-śes bzaṅ-po [Jñānabhadra], who is perhaps, after all, the same as Bhadra or Śrībhadra. Well, Hiouan-ts'ang was already mentioning a similar rite, which he was considering as Kaśmīri, better still, which he was exactly localising, doubtless on the slopes of the Gopādri.[104] The ritual recalled by Gzon-nu dpal appears as an extension of the cult, whose of Avalokiteśvara. Subsequently the procedure became more generalised and, at the start of the 12th century, Candradhvaja, native of Zaṅ-zuṅ, and belonging to the lineage of Lakṣmī, "discovered" it was possible to efface serious sin and obtain human rebirth by fasting before an image of Avalokiteśvara.[105] Book XIV of the *Blue Annals* mentions several examples of that practice, for which small easily portable statuettes were often used. It is thus that Sru-pa rdo-rje rgyal-po who belonged to the spiritual lineage of Lakṣmī, obtained a vision of Avalokiteśvara, after having meditated and "fasted" for five years before a crystal effigy of that Bodhisattva, which had belonged to Candradhvaja.[106]

This nun Lakṣmī is easily confused with Lakṣmī, Lakṣmīkarā or Lakṣmīṃkarā, princess of Uḍḍiyāna, celebrated Tantric initiatress, but semi-legendary. Nevertheless, a piece of writing incorporated in the *Bstan-'gyur* is clearly attributed to Śrī Lakṣmī of Kaśmīr. It is a matter of a *Pañcakramaṭīkā* entitled *Kramārthaprakāśikā* (*Rg.*, XXXIV, 11) (266 p.). As to the texts consecrated to Avalokiteśvara, and whose author, according to the colophon, is the *bhikṣuṇī* Lakṣmī, they have certainly been edited by our Kaśmīri lady, although the Mongol index attributes them to Lakṣmīṃkarā.

They are the following texts :

—the *Lokeśvarastotra* (*Rg.*, LXVIII, 34) (1 p.);
—the *Ekādaśamukhavalokiteśvarasya sādhana* (*Rg.*, LXVIII, 42) (4 p.);

104. See above, pp. 39-40.
105. *B.A.*, p. 1008.
106. *B.A.*, p. 1011.

—the *Āryāvalokiteśvarasya stotra* (*Rg.*, LXVIII, 45) (2 p.);
—the *Āryāvalokiteśvarastotra* (*Rg.*, LXVIII, 46) (2 p.);
—the *Mahākāruṇikastotra* (*Rg.*, LXVIII, 47).

THE KAŚMĪRI COLLABORATORS OF RIṄ CHEN BZAṄ-PO

The assistants of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po were certainly not all Kaśmīri : for an example it is sufficient to think of Atīśa. However, the greater number and those who collaborated longest with Rin-chen bzaṅ-po are likely to have been Kaśmīri. It was only when the reputation of the centre at Tho-liṅ was well established that Indians from other provinces wended their way there. But by then Rin-chen bzaṅ-po was rather elderly and sufficiently learned to feel disinclined to teach any Indian missionary. The account of the cautious welcome he gave at first to Atīśa shows this well, enlightening us about the character of the old Tibetan master-teacher where pride and humility entermingled. It is quite probable that subsequent to 1042, Rin-chen bzaṅ-po hardly did any more translation work except in the company of Dīpāṅkara. Thus Dharmapāla, who arrived in Tho-liṅ almost at the same time, did not, to our knowledge work with Rin-chen bzaṅ-po.

The list of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po collaborators and the inventory of his work as translator-interpreter moreover do not need to be done here. Giuseppe Tucci has discharged that task, and at most we would venture to organise differently the material he has published.[107] It is more worthwhile to

107. G. TUCCI set up the Indian assistants of the great *lo-cā-ba* named according to the *Blue Annals*, Pad-ma dkar-po and the *Rnam-thar* (*Rin-chen bzaṅ-po*, p. 39). Those lists very incomplete, and sometimes very fantastic, show how the Tibetan documents are subject to caution. Here is the list which one can set up according to the catalogues :

Kanakavarman;	Padmākaravarman;
Kamalagupta;	Buddhabhadra;
Gaṅgādhara;	Buddhaśrīśānti;
Janārdana;	Vijayaśrīdhara;
Jñānabhadra;	Śākyamati;
Tathāgatarakṣita;	Śraddhākaravarman;
Devākara;	Subhāṣita;
Dharmaśrībhadra:	Subhūtiśrībhadra.

limit ourselves here to naming the assistants of the *Lo-chen* whose Kaśmīri origin is solidly established. They are three : Ratnavajra, about, whom we have already had some discussion; Śraddhākaravarman who with Padmākaravarman is one of the most productive Indian translators of his generation; Janārdana whose medical education assigns him a place apart, and who opens a glimpse into a scientific sphere about which our information is very limited. Examination of the work accomplished by those masters will suffice to delineate a picture of the centres of interest and study most in vogue in monasteries of the upper Vitastā at the start of the 11th century.

The Kaśmīri origin of one of the two most fruitful collaborators of the *Lo-chen* is specified on several occasions :[108] ŚRADDHĀKARAVARMAN, introduced to the system of Buddhajñāna by Śāntipāda, taught it to Rin-chen bzaṅ-po at the same time as Padmākaravarman.[109] He had also received from Vāgīśvara instruction about the propitiation of Tārā according to the method of Ravigupta, and he transmitted it to Tathāgatarakṣita. He is author of a certain number of very short texts,[110]

108. *Rg.*, XII, 8 and *Rg.*, LI, 4.
109. *B.A.*, p. 373.
110. Here is the complete list of his writings :

Cycle of Śambara :
Tattvagarbha nāma sādhana (*Rg.*, XIII, 28) (3 p.);
Herukaviśuddhi (*Rg.*, XIII, 30) (7 p.).

Guhyasamāja Cycle, according to the teaching of Nāgārjuna :
Vajrajapaṭīkā (*Rg.*, XXIX, 1) (19 p.);
Jñānavajrasamuccayatantrodbhavasaptālaṃkāravimocana (*Rg.*, XXIX, 2) (4 p.).

Cycle of the Tattvasaṃgraha :
Saṃkṣiptamaṇḍalasūtra (*Rg.*, LI, 3) (4 p.);
Saṃkṣiptamaṇḍalasūtravṛtti (*Rg.*, LI, 4) (19 p.).

Cycle of the Sarvarahasya and of the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana :
Pratiṣṭhāvidhisaṅkṣepa (*Rg.*, LXIII, 19) (8 p.).

Cycle of the Kriyātantra :
cycle of Mañjuśrī :
Arapacanasādhanavidhi (*Rg.*, LXVIII, 21) (2 p);
cycle of Vajrapāṇi :
Vajrapāṇisādhana (*Rg.*, LXVIII, 194) (2 p.).

(*Contd.*)

of which the longest is the *Yogānuttaratantrārthāvatārasaṃgraha* (*Rg.*, LXXII, 9) (24 p.). It is not without interest to present for argument's sake the list of his translations, which will show the directions of study of the Kaśmīri Buddhists around the year 1000. The most important of these translations have been done with the cooperation of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po. Three are included in the *Bka'-'gyur* :

—*Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittarahasyaguhyasamāja* (no. 442, 116 p.);
—*Sarvtathāgatatattvasaṃgraha nāma Mahāyānasūtra* (no. 479, 283 p.);
—*Śrīparamādi nāma Mahāyānakalparāja* (no. 487, 45 p.).

As to the translations included in the *Bstan-'gyur*, the most important are attached :

1° To the cycle of the *Guhyasamāja* :[111]

—the *Pradīpoddyotana* of Candrakīrti (*Rg.*, XXVIII, I)

Texts concerning the sacrificial oblations (*bali*) :
Madhyamabhāgatrayavidhi (*Rg.*, LXXII, 66) (12 p.).
Various Upadeśa :
Bhagavatyāryatārāstotra (*Rg.*, LXXXII, 43) (3 p.).
The *Yogānuttaratantrārthāvatārasaṃgraha* is classed among the texts fixing the distinctive characters of the four orders of *tantra* etc.

111. The other translations linked to the Guhyasamāja are :
Ṣaḍaṅgayogaṭīkā (*Rg.*, XXVIII, 2) (5 p.);
Vajrajapaṭīkā (*Rg.*, XXIX, 1) (19 p.);
Jñānavajrasamuccayatantrodbhavasaptālaṅkāravimocana (*Rg.*, XXIX, 2) (4 p.);
Piṇḍīkṛtasādhana (*Rg.*, XXXIII, 1) (21 p.);
Pañcakrama (with the cooperation of Kamalagupta) (*Rg.*, XXXIII, 7) (27 p.);
Homavidhi (with the help of Dharmaśrībhadra) (*Rg.*, XXXIII, 29) (13 p.);
Guhyasamājamaṇḍaladevakāyastotra (*Rg.*, XXXIII, 33) (4 p.);
Samantabhadrasādhana (*Rg.*, XXXIX, 3) (19 p.);
Samantabhadrasādhanavṛtti (*Rg.*, XXXIV, 16) (101 p.);
Guhyasamājasādhana (*Rg.*, XL, 7) (missing);
Guhyasamājābhisamayasādhana (*Rg.*, XL, 10) (13 p.);
Maṇḍalavidhi (*Rg.*, XL, 11) (11 p.).

(465 p.) which is claimed by the school of Nāgārjuna ;
—the *Guhyasamājavivaraṇa* of Sthagana (*Rg*., XXXV, 3) (190 p.) which is claimed by the school of Buddhajñāna;
—the correction of the translation of the *Guhyasamājapañjikā* of Ānandagarbha (*Rg*., XLII, I) (193 p.);

2° To the cycle of the *Nāmasaṅgītiyogatantra* :

—the *Nāmasaṅgītivṛtti* (*Rg*., LVIII, 1) (62 p.);
—the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgītiṭīkā* (*Rg*., LVIII, 3) (432 p.); different commentaries of the *Vajravidāraṇīdhāraṇī* :
—a *ṭīkā* of Vimalamitra (*Rg*., LXVI, 2) (17 p.);
—perhaps a *vistaraṭīkā* by the same author (*Rg*., LXVI, 12) (missing);
—*a bṛhaṭṭīkā* by Vajravarman (*Rg*., LXVI, 13) (53 p.);
—and finally the correction of the translation of the translation of the *bhāṣya* due to Jñānavajra entitled *Vṛttipradīpa* (*Rg*., LXVI, 17) (59 p.);[112]

3° To the cycle of the *Buddhasamayoga* :

—the *Sarvabuddhasamayogatantrapañjikā*, attributed to Indrabhūti (*Rg* , XXV, 1) (43 p.);
—the *Sarvabuddhasamayogapañjika* of Praśāntamitra (with cooperation of Dharmaśrībhadra) (*Rg*., XXV, 3) (116 p.);

4° To the *Mahāyogatantra* :

—the commencement of the *Paramādiṭīkā* of Ānandagarbha (*Rg*., LIV, 2) (479 p.);
—the *Māyājālatantrarājapañjikā* of Praśāntamitra (*Rg*., LVI, 3) (59 p.);
—the *Karuṇodaya nāma bhāvanājapavidhi* of Ānandagarbha (*Rg*., LVII, 8) (53 p.);
—the *Pratiṣṭhāvidhi* of Ānandagarbha (*Rg*., LVII, 7) (12 p.).[113]

112. The *Śavaśuddhisaṃskārasūtrapiṇḍitavidhi* (*Rg*., LXIII, 6) is lost.
113. The other translations of Śraddhākaravarman are :
Prajñāpāramitānavaślokapiṇḍārtha of KAMBALA (*Mdo*, XVI, 3) (1 p.);

(*Contd.*)

JANĀRDANA collaborator of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po and of Śākya blo-gros, receives the titles of *Kha-che pan-chen* [*kaśmīra-paṇḍita*][114] and of "*upādhyāya* grammarian."[115] In reality, it is preferably the title of doctor that one would expect to see conferred on him, since in collaboration with Rin-chen bzaṅ-po, he interpreted the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā* of Vāgbhaṭa,[116] and the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayavivṛtti* of Candranandana, Kaśmīri medical doctor of the 10th century.[117] To those texts, it is possible to bring closer a short review on perfumery (*dhūpayogaśāstra*), the *Dhūpayogaratnamālā* of Nāgārjuna.[118] The other translations, due to the collaboration of Janārdana and of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po, are that of *Pratimokṣabhāṣya* entitled *Asampramuṣitasmaraṇamātralekha*, from an unknown author, presented as a commentary of the *Pratimokṣamūlāgama*;[119] that of the *Tattvasārasaṃgraha* of Dharmendra;[120] finally, those of some very short texts, including some hymns and their commentaries.[121]

In collaboration with Śākya blo-gros, Janārdana translated

Hastabālaprakaraṇa of ĀRYADEVA (*Mdo*, XVII, 22) (1 p.);
Kāyatrayastotravivaraṇa (*Bstod*, 16) (8 p.);
Pañcatathāgatastava (*Bstod*, 53) (1 p.);
Saptatathāgatastotra (*Bstod*, 54) (1 p.);
Śrībhagavadabhisamaya of LŪI-PĀ (*Rg.*, XII, 8) (14 p);
Herukaviśuddhi (*Rg.*, XIII, 30) (7 p.);
Saṅkṣiptamaṇḍalasūtra (*Rg.*, LI, 3) (4 p.); and its *vṛtti* (*Rg.*, LI, 4) (19 p);
Homavidhi (*Rg.*, LVII, 10) (16 p.);
Āryamañjughoṣastotra (*Rg.*, LXVIII, 20) (1 p.);
Yogānuttaratantrārthāvatārasaṃgraha (*Rg.*, LXXII, 9) (25 p.);
Madhyamabhāgatrayavidhi (*Rg.*, LXXII, 66) (12 p.);
Piṇḍikramasādhana (*Rg.*, LXXXI, 1) (23 p.);
Karmakarastotra (*Rg.*, LXXXII, 91) (4 p.).

114. *Mdo*, CXXIII, 9.
115. *Mdo*, LXXI, 2-LXXII, 1.
116. *Mdo*, CXVIII, 4 (615 p.).
117. *Mdo*, CXX-CXXII, 1, (2 190 p.).
118. *Mdo*, CXXIII, 9 (4 lines).
119. *Mdo*, LXXVIII, 1 (372 p.).
120. *Rg.*, LXXII, 7 (67 p.).
121. *Sarvajñamaheśvarastotra* of MUDGARAGOMIN (*Bstod*, 3) (2 p.); *Viśeṣastavaṭīkā*, commentary by PRAJÑĀVARMAN of another hymn of MUDGARAGOMIN (*Bstod*, 2) (85 p.);

(*Contd.*)

the *ṭīkā* by Dharmakīrti of the 32 first *jātaka* of the *Jātakamālā* of Śūra[122] and the *Udānavargavivaraṇa* of the Sarvāstivādin Prajñāvarman, commentary on the *Udānavarga* of Dharmatrāta, work which is classified at the same time in the *Mdo-sde* (no. 326) and in the *Mdo-'grel* among the commentaries "expounding the acquisition of the *Adhicitta*."[123]

KAŚMĪRIS IN TIBET AT THE TIME OF LHA-LDE AND OF 'OD-LDE

Atīśa was preceded at Tho-liṅ by another eminent Buddhist, Subhūtiśrīśānti, whose coming somewhat eclipsed by that of the venerable master-teacher, is however famous as the priming for renewal of study of Prajñāpāramitā at the intellectual centre then the most brilliant in Tibet. Master-teachers succeeded one another, kings also : the old Ye-śes'od is going to die in captivity and Lha-lde occupies the throne only a few years, since, in 1042, when Atīśa arrived, 'od-lde was already reigning; while Byaṅ chub'od, who receives like Ye-śes'od the title of *lha bla-ma* is doubtless invested with authority in the spiritual sequence. That is the hypothesis of G. Tucci[124] and it is highly probable.

But all the apostolic activity of the Kaśmīri Buddhists was not concentrated at Tho-liṅ; various translations inform us of other movements of important predication. The epoch of Subhūtiśrī and of Atīśa was that of Mar-pa. The Kālacakra was continuing to be broadcast, and the teaching of the Kaśmīri Somanātha is assigned to very nearly the middle of the century. A little later doubtless, Dam-pa Saṅs-rgyas [Paramabuddha] originally from south India, was teaching in Tibet, before be taking himself to China in 1080,[125] the

Devātiśayastotraṭīkā, commentary by PRAJÑĀVARMAN of the hymn of ŚAṄKARAPATI (*Bstod*, 5) (58 p.);

Śīlaparikathā of VASUBANDHU (*Mdo*, XXXIII, 44 and XCIV, 9) (1 p.);

Yogāvatāropadeśa of DHARMENDRA (*Mdo*, XXXIII, 81 and LXI, 6) (2 p.).

122. *Mdo*, XCI, 2 (484 p.).

123. *Mdo*, LXXI, 2-LXXII, (1008 p.).

124. *Rin C'en bzaṅ po*, p. 24. See below the genealogical tree of the kings of Guge.

125. *B.A.*, p. 72.

Kālacakra and above all the methods called *zi-byed*, which seem based on analysis and accelerated maturation of the *vāsanā*, not without risking grave danger on the moral plane. Many other teachers, more or less commendable, must at that epoch have haunted the tracks leading from India to Tibet. The task that Ye-śes 'od and his descendants took upon themselves, was precisely that of fighting against certain degeneracies of Buddhism, of denouncing the unhealthy influence of pseudo-instructors, of re-establishing the moral reputation of the *dharma* in the minds of all, Buddhist or not, who were scandalised by those abuses of limiting excessive applications of principles which otherwise permitted an effort of legitimate oftentimes fruitful research.

SUBHŪTIŚRĪSĀNTI

A little before Atīśa's arrival at Tho-liṅ, when Lha-lde was still reigning, another teacher was invited by Ye-śes'od. The *Blue Annals* recall it by quoting a fragment of a poem celebrating the action of the kings of western Tibet in the service of the Law[126]. This learned translator-interpreter, often called Kha-che pan-chen, is SUBHUTIŚRĪŚĀNTI, whose name-more or less shortened—appears in the colophons and indexes of the Tibetan canon.

Subhūtiśrī is especially famous as interpreter and diffuser of Prajñāpāramitā texts : he translated, Gzon-nu dpal tells us, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, its great commentary (*'grel-chen*), that is to say, the *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka* and a commentary on that latter text.[127] In fact, Cordier's catalogue indicates clearly that the *pañjikā* of the *Alaṅkārāloka* entitled *Sārottamā* and edited by the *Mahāpaṇḍita*. Rājācārya Ratnākaraśānti was translated by Subhūtiśrīśānti aided by Śākya blo-gros. But the interpretation of the celebrated commentary of Haribhadra, ordered by king Khri bkra-śis-lde bcan, that is to say, by Lha-lde,[128] would be due to the collaboration of *lo-cā-ba* Rin-chen bzaṅ-po and Subhāṣita.[129]

126. *B.A*,, pp. 85-86.
127. *B.A*,, pp. 69-70.
128. And not 'Od-lde, as Cordier says.
129. It is necessary to believe that Subhāṣita and Subhūtiśrī are one same (*Contd.*)

Apart from the *Sārottamā* (*Mdo*, X, 1) (505 p.), which is called an interpretation of the *cittamātra* tendency of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, Subhūtiśrī translated a *pañjikā* of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, the *Śuddhimatī* (*Mdo*, IX, 2) (305 p.). Those translations have been done with the assistance of Śākya blo-gros and, for the second, of Dge-ba'i blo-gros. It is necessary to add to those a text teaching mental creation of the perfection of wisdom, the *Prajñāpāramitābhāvanopadeśa* (*Mdo*, LXI, 10) (6 p.), due to the author of the *Sārottamā*.

At the order of Byaṅ-chub'od, Subhūtiśrīśānti took upon himself in collaboration with Dge-ba'i blo-gros, the translation of important works on logic : the *Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti*, self-commentary on the *Pramāṇavārttika* finished by Devendrabuddhi (*Mdo*, XCV, 18; XCVI) (1049 p.), and the commentary by Śākyabuddhi of that commentary, the *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā* (XCVII-XCVIII) (1498 p.); the *Pramāṇavārttikakārikā* (XCV, 10) (121 p.), subsequently reviewed several times, by Bhavyarāja and Śākyaśrībhadra.[130]

Finally, Subhūtiśrī participated in the translation into Tibetan of texts from the Kālacakra cycle :[131] in particular, with Tiṅ-ṅe 'jin bzaṅ-po, he translated the *Lakṣābhidhānoddhṛta laghutantrapiṇḍārthavivaraṇa* (*Rg.*, VI, 1) (147 p.) and *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga* (*Rg.*, IV, 11) (9 p.), attributed the one as well as the other to the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. He also corrected

person? The one having translated the text in collaboration with Rin-chen bzaṅ-po and the other the commentary in collaboration with Śakya blo-gros, it would perhaps be better to admit that several paṇḍits and *lo-cā-ba* shared the heavy task proposed by Lha-dle. Moreover, later, Atīśa also reviewed the important interpretation of *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka* using a manuscript coming from the Magadha and some decades later Blo-ldan śes-rab also re-arranged that translation with the help of an Indian paṇḍit named Sthirapāla. The translations done by Subhūtiśrī are indeed numerous enough for one not to add to them those of other translators.

130. SUBHŪTIŚRĪŚĀNTI also corrected the translation in Tibetan of the *Saṃbandhaparīkṣāprakaraṇa* (*Mdo*, XCV, 14) (2 p.), in collaboration with TIṄ-ṄE 'JIN BZAṄ-PO and, with the same *lo-cā-ba*, he translated the *Yuktiprayoga* (*Mdo*, CXII, 27) (1 p.) of the Kaśmīri Ratnavajra, his senior by some decades.

131. Is it necessary to emphasize that it is possible to be interested at

(*Contd.*)

the translation of the *Hevajrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā* (*Rg.*, XV, 1) (278 p.) carried out by Maitra-pā and Śes-rab grags-pa.[132]

SOMANĀTHA

One of the most important and best known of the introducers of the Kālacakra in the land of snows is the Kaśmīri Somanātha or Candranātha (Zla-ba Mgon-po). Gzon-nu dpal devotes to him a lengthy notice. He advises us that he belonged to a brahmanical family, and that while yet very young, when he was studying with his father he showed remarkable aptitudes. Converted to Buddhism by his mother, he studied, always in his native Kaśmīr, near the brahmin Sūryaketu, also called Bzaṅ-po [*Bhadra*]. The passage is interesting, for it enumerates a certain number of students of that "brahmin, excellent scholar"; a whole educational seminary in Kaśmīr at the start of the 11th century is thus evoked : the *paṇḍita* Sonasati, Lakṣmīkara (perhaps the *bhikṣuṇī* Lakṣmī), Dānaśrī (perhaps Da-bodhisatva, sometimes also called Dānaśīla), Candrarāhula and Somanātha.[133] It was then that the *Sekoddeśa* and the *Sekaprakriyā* reached Kaśmīr : Vinayākaramati would have sent them to Sūryaketu, who had them read to his students. That event decided the vocation of Candranātha, who interrupted his study course in

the same time in the *Mantranaya* and in the *Prajñāpāramitā* ? A. WALEY (*M.C.B.*, t. I, p. 355) qualifies an Indian monk, Dhyānabhadra, as "definitely anti-Tantric" because he interests himself in the *Prajñāpāramitā*, which shows that it is a question of an "old-fashioned Mahāyānist".

132. The other translations of Tantric texts done by Subhūtiśrī are the following :

the *Sahajaratisaṃyoga* (*Rg.*, XXI, 28), named in the index but lost;

the *Śrīcakraśaṃvarādvayavīrasādhana* (*Rg.*, LXXXVI, 68) (3 p.) of RATNAVAJRA;

the *Mañjuśrīvajrasādhana* (*Rg.*, XIII, 50) (12 p.), the two first in collaboration with TIÑ-ṄE 'JIN BZAṄ-PO, the second with DGE-BA'I BLO-GROS.

With RIN-CHEN BZAṄ-PO, he corrected the translation of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanamahāmaṇḍalasādhanopāyikā* of ĀNANDA-GARBHA (*Rg.*, LXIII, 3) (29 p.).

133. *B A.*, p. 758.

order to go to the Magadha, in quest of an instructor capable of teaching him the Kālacakra. He found him in the person of Kālacakrapāda Junior. That pointer is important for it shows that, if the Kālacakra was enjoying in Kaśmīr a reputation succeptible of exciting the "wonder" of Somanātha and of his fellow disciples aad of exalting their "faith", one did not find there a teacher having complete knowledge of the system.

When he had become an accomplished paṇḍit praised for prodigious memory and perfection of control of the *acyuta-bodhicitta* he went to Tibet where he acquired a profound knowledge of the Tibetan language. "A little after the death of Atīśa", that is to say in the third quarter of the 11th century, he preached there the Kālacakra and the Guhyasamājatantra according to the method of Nāgārjuna ("the secret exposition of the *pradīpoddyotana*")[134].

In the course of his two journeys to central Tibet, separated by a sojourn in Mṅa-ris and a pilgrimage to the Magadha, Somanātha had the good fortune to meet several ardent protectors who make provision for his maintenance and subsidised his translation work : for example, for a translation which is perhaps that of the *Vimalaprabhā*, he was given 30 *sraṅs* of gold and various presents of equivalent value.[135] The most generous of those patrons were the *kalyāṇamitra* of Bzaṅ-yul, Lce-pa, and his son Zla-ba grags-pa, born in 1046,[136] and later, the *kalyāṇamitra* Dkon-mchog-bsruṅ and his pupil.[137] Those eminent Tibetans are at the beginning of two lines of teaching of the Kālacakra in Tibet.

The most important texts of the Kālacakra series have been translated into Tibetan by Somanātha and his faithful assistant, the *lo-cā-ba* of 'Bro, Śes-rab grags. Foremost it is necessary to mention the *Paramādibuddhoddhṛtaśrīkālacakra nāma tantrarājā (Rgyud-'bum*, no. 362) (212 p.) and the *Vimalaprabhā* the Sanskrit text of which is preserved in manuscript in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

134. *B.A.*, pp. 766 and 367.
135. *B.A.*, p. 759.
136. *B.A.*, pp. 906-907.
137. *B.A.*, p. 760.

(no. 4727), the complete name of which is *Vimalaprabhā nāma mūlatantrānusāriṇī dvadaśasāhasrīka laghukālacakra-tantrarājaṭīkā* (*Rg.*, I and II) (1046 p.). Hardly less important are the *Padminīnāmapañjikā* of Kālacakrapāda (*Rg.*, III, 3) (344 p.), the *Sekoddeśa* (*Rgyud-'bum* 361) (14 p.) and its commentary, the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* (*Rg*, IV, 1, not to be confused with the *ṭīkā* of the same text due to Nāropā, more extended moreover, *Rg.*, III, 4) the *Śrīparamārthasevā* of Jñānavajra (*Rg.*, III, 1) (50 p). Let us cite the following :

—the *Śrīnakṣatramaṇḍasādhana ekādaśānga nāma* of Kālacakrapāda (*Rg.*, IV, 5) (33 p.);
—the *Tattvagarbhasādhana* attributed to Vajrapāṇi (*Rg.*, XII, 7) (33 p.) (text which belonged to the Śambara cycle and not to the Kālacakra);
—the *Tattvāloka* attributed to Lokanātha (*Rg.*, XXI, 69) (29 p.) (belonging to the Hevajra cycle);
—the *Sekaprakriyā* (*Rg.*, LXXIII, 6) (16 p.), which is a precis once again dealing with the ritual of initiation.[138]

Two manuscripts incorporated in the *Bstan-'gyur* have been drawn up by a Kaśmīri author of that epoch who, however, was not a Buddhist, but who, precisely for that reason, furnishes us with an interesting opportunity to try to look at Buddhism from the outside, with the eyes of cultured Kaśmīris, more or less sympathetic. Kṣemendra, satirical poet, lover of heavy witticism, in quest of scandal which he reports with a complacency casting doubt on his moralising intention, in other respects devote of Nārāyaṇa—how did Kṣemendra come to write an *Avadānakalpalatā* dated from 1052, "based on the documents of India, Kaśmīr, Nepal, Khotan and China" (Rgya-yar, Kha-che, Bal-yul, Li, Rgya-nag) ?[139] Is it permis-

138. To that list it is right to add three minor texts :
the *Kālacakrapādasampradāya*, instruction on *yoga* of six members (*Rg.*, IV, 19) (6 p.);
the *Triyogahṛdayavyākarana* of Mañjughoṣakīrti (*Rg.*, IV, 18) (2 p.);
the *Sahajasiddhi* (*Rg.*, XLVII, 1) (9 p.).

139. *Mdo*, XCIII. That version has been edited by Śarat Candra DAS and Paṇḍit Hari Mohan VIDYĀBHŪṢANA (*Bibliotheca Indica*, 124, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1888).

sible to think that toward the end of his life, Buddhism attracted the old disciple of Abhinavagupta ?[140] That is not impossible, and the *Vaiṣṇava* he had become was gradually seduced by the syncretism which considers the Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu : Kṣemendra is, at all events to our knowledge, one of the first to express that doctrine in the *Daśāvatāracarita*, attested very much earlier by means of the iconography, thanks to which Buddhism as a whole can be linked to Viṣṇuism like a gigantic appendix.

We know that the impressive task of setting down the *avadāna* in verse, in the *kāvya* style, was undertaken by Kṣemendra at the request of one of his friends, Nakka, himself a convinced Buddhist, who was able to exercise over the poet a spiritual influence. We know also that in the work of the textual summing up necessitated by his enterprise Kṣemendra was helped by the *ācārya* Vīryabhadra. The name of Kṣemendra's son, Somendra, has been saved from oblivion thanks to his pious wish to complete that "*vihāra* of moral benefit",[141] by adding to the 107, of which the recital had been set down by his father, a 108th *avadāna*, the *Garbhāvakrāntinirdeśa*. That recital, which, in Tibetan translation, presents itself at the tenth place, does not exist in Sanskrit manuscripts, and attribution of it to Somendra has to certain scholars appeared doubtful : it could be supposed that its author was the translator in Tibetan, Lakṣmīkara, to whom the *Bstan-'gyur* attributes the pompous titles of *mkhan-po sñan-ṅag mkhan chen-po*, that is to say *upādhyāya mahākavi*.

The *Avadānakalpalatā* is not the only manuscript of Kṣemendra translated into Tibetan. A short treatise which occupies, in Tibetan translation, only one page, the *Anityārthaparikathā* (*Mdo*, XCIV, 19), transla-

140. According to the introduction (*Bib. Ind.*, 124, p.v.), KṢEMENDRA would have seen in a dream the Tathāgata himself.

141. *Puṇyamayo vihāraḥ*. These words are extracted from the introduction of Somendra to the 108th *avadāna* :

saṃsaktanetrāsṛtacitracitrāḥ kālena te te vigatā vihārāḥ
sarasvatītūlikayā vicitravarnakramaikollikhitāvadānah
tātena yo'yaṃ vihito mahārthaiḥ saṃnandanapuṇyamayo vihārāḥ
na tasya nāśo'sti yugakṣaye'pi jalānalollāsapariplavena.

(lines quoted by the editors, p. VII of the preface).

ted by Vināyaka and the *lo-cā-ba* Grags-'byor śes-rab, and classified among the various *parikathā* is doubtless by the same author, qualified as *mahākavi*, despite an orthographical error in the colophon (Dga'-ba, Rāma, for Dge-ba, Kṣema), rectified in the index.

6

In the time of Kalaśa and of Harṣadeva

THE KAŚHMĪRI ASSISTANTS OF BLO-LDAN ŚES-RAR AND OF ÑI-MA GRAGS (2ND HALF OF 11TH CENTURY AND BEGINNING OF 12TH CENTURY)

At Tho-liṅ, where Rce-lde had succeeded doubtless some years earlier his father 'od-lde, Rin-chen bzaṅ-po and Atīśa had died almost at the same time, the one in 1055, the other in 1054. Their immediate students had continued with the task already in hand. But, some twenty years later, fresh impulsion was given to Buddhistic study; once more, so it seems, thanks to the initiative of a ruler of Mṅa'-ris, Rce-lde.

The great event of Rce-lde's reign is the reunion, in 1076, of a council known by the name of "Council of the year of the Fire Dragon." Numerous master-teachers from Dbus, Boan and Khams were there present; each expounded his speciality, or, as the *Blue Annals* describe it, "added impetus to the wheel of the Law": *chos-'khor*, which is translated by the word "council", in reality means, syllable for syllable, *dharmacakra*. 'Phags-pa śes-rab, *lo-cā-ba* of Zaṅs-dkar, seems to have held a role almost presidential throughout that conference, in which participated : the *lo-cā-ba* of Rva; the *lo-cā-ba* of Gñan, Dar-ma grags, Khyuṅ-po chos-brcan; the *lo-cā-ba* of Rṅog, Blod-ldan śes-rab, Kha-bo-che, from Bcan, Dad-pa śes-rab, from

Mar-thun, Dags-po dbaṅ-rgyal and Byaṅ-chub śes-rab, of Maṅ-'or.[1]

The benjamin of that learned gathering was Blo-ldan śes-rab, then aged seventeen : precocious start of a brilliant career, of great part of which developed in Kaśmīr. Indeed, at the end of the conference, the various participants dispersed, and several directed their steps towards India : some betook themselves to Nepal, and others—the young Blo-ldan śes-rab, the venerable Kha-bo-che, Khyuṅ-po chos-brcan, Rdo-ston, Gñan-lo, and Rva-lo, went to Kaśmīr.[2]

The political situation was then less satisfactory at Śrīnagar than at Tho-liṅ. After the inopportune abdication of Ananta in favour of his son Kalaśa, the latent conflict was entering, precisely in 1076. a tragic phase, which terminated only through the suicide of the old king in 1081. Later, Kalaśa's reign was clouded by the struggle with which he was opposed by his son Harṣa, inheritor of sinister traditions. Some ministers like Vāmana and Kandarpa however succeded in restoring the prosperity of the public financcs and in re-establishing the authority of Śrīnagar over the tributory states. In 1087-1088, the princes of Campā, Vallāpura, Rājapurī, Lohara, Uraśā, Kanda, Kāṣṭhavāṭa and Baddhāpura(?) came to render homage to the ruler of Śrīnagar.[3] No need at all of such information to persuade us that greater Kaśmīr as a whole, that is to say all the border regions, whether politically linked with Śrīnagar or not, used to gravitate culturally as well as economically around the valley; but it is proper that sometimes official history should confirm the tacitly implied conditions of cultural history. The first objective of all the monks wishing to receive more complete development than they could acquire in a provincial monastery was assuredly to come for instruction to some renowned master-teacher of the capital or in the convents of the valley. Doubtless several among those monks of the Rājavihāra or of the Ratnagupta-vihāra, who are spoken of as being of Kaśmīri origin (*kha-che'i rigs*), were natives of those mountainous districts, less

1. *B.A.*, p. 328.
2. *B.A.*, p. 325.
3. *R.T.*, VII, pp. 583-590.

isolated than one would think and relatively rich (richer perhaps than the cantons too often visited by the *niyogin*[4]), certain even from Dardistan or from Khaśa.

In 1089 Harṣa left prison to mount the throne. Now, although vilified and perhaps slandered, Harṣa was a great ruler. At that time Kaśmīr was being torn apart and, in order to re-establish a stable political order, it was necessary to show evidence of strength which may have seemed cruel. Furthermore, it appears that Harṣa made an effort to modernise Kaśmīr rendering it permeable to foreign influences, whether coming from the Mussulman world or from the Deccan.

The intellectual life of Kaśmīr does not seem affected by the unfavourable political and economic circumstances, nor by the deplorable example offered by the court of Śrīnagar. And yet, between Abhinavagupta and the poetess Lallā, Śivaism passes through a phase of least brilliance : the disciples of Abhinavagupta are not all dead, but we do not know the names of the students. In the realm of literature, Somadeva the story-teller, protected by Ananta and by Sūryamatī, has scarcely put the finishing touches to the *Kathāsarisāgara*. But it is above all Buddhism (to which the apostles of the *trika* are reputed to have dealt blows appropriate to the result of its own internal discrepitude) which, thanks in part to the exactions of the Tibetans, assures the permanence of intellectual and spiritual research, not only in the monasteries, but among the lay faithful of the capital.

HARṢA AND BUDDHISM

A delicate problem is posed by the religious attitude of Harṣa, whom Kalhaṇa accuses of having behaved like a true turk (*turuṣka*).[5] Harṣa actually violated a certain number of sanctuaries which he stripped of gold and silver statues in order to recover the metal.[6] He even created a functionary

4. Is it necessary to recall the tyranny of the *kāyastha*, which Kalhaṇa stigmatises on each occasion and the sombre reputation of those inspector-generals called *niyogin* whom Kṣemendra presents to us as responsible for veritable expeditions of pillage (*Narmamālā*, I, *passim*) ?
5. *R.T.*, VII, 1095.
6. *R.T.*, VII, 1093.

entrusted with destruction of the divine statues (*devotpāṭanānāyaka*).[7] That policy, armed at refloating the finances of the State, could not fail to be very unpopular. From there to accusing Harṣa of profanation purely gratuitous was only a stop.[8] Now, two statues escaped that destructive fury, and those were two statues of the Buddha, among the most renowned of Kaśmīr : "Like colossal images, two effigies of the Buddha were saved, thanks to requests happily addressed to the king at a moment when he was disposed to grant favours : that of Parihāsapura thanks to the singer Kanaka who was born there; and the other in the capital thanks to the *śramaṇa* Kuśalaśrī."[9] As observes M. A. Stein, those two *bṛhadbuddha* are doubtless that dedicated by Lalitāditya and the great Buddha of Śrīnagar which was still intact during the 12th century.[10]

Now, it so happens that Buddhistic sources do not echo that detestable reputation of Harṣa, as if they were quite disposed to pardon him for the depradations to which he submitted the Śivaite sanctuaries. Tāranātha contents himself with merely mentioning him : "When Śākyamati was living etc., Hrī-Harśa-de-lba was reigning in Kaśmīr".[11] The *Bstan-'gyur*, which only exceptionally names some Indian rulers, mentions him several times in relation to translations effected by Ñi-ma grags,[12] and it is permissible to wonder if Harṣa did not in effect accord to the Buddhists a certain preference which, by the way, would suffice to justify the enmity of the

7. *R.T.*, VII, 1091.
8. *R.T.*, VII, 1092.
9. *R.T.*, VII, 1097-1098.
10. *R.T.*, VIII, 1184.
11. *T.N.*, 205.
12. Only two Kaśmīri kings are named in the colophons of the *Bstan-'gyur* : Lalitāditya and Harṣa. Harṣa's name appears more or less deformed. For example, the *Paralokasiddhi* was translated under *Śrī Hariśadeva*, king of Kaśmīr (*Mdo*, CXII, 15).

    Ñi-ma grags, who stayed in Kaśmīr in the time of Harṣa, did several translations during the reign of a Kaśmīri sovereign named in Tibetan Kha-che'i rgyal-po Dpal 'Phags-pa lha "the king of Kaśmīr Śrī Āryadeva" : it is certainly a question of the same Harṣa, whose name could have been rendered by 'Phags-pa lha, due to bad pronunciation (confusion between Harṣa and Ārya).

brahmins. But more strange is it that two hymns attributed to him are incorporated among the *bstod chogs*, the *Suprabhātaprabhātastotra* (*Bstod*, 56) and the *Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityavandanāstava* (*Bstod*, 57). Sylvain Lévi has shown that attribution of those hymns to Śrī Harṣa of Kaśmīr[13] was wrong. Indeed, the Sanskrit text of those poems was transcribed phonetically in Chinese characters by the monk Fa-hien, who lived at the end of the 10th century (932-1001). Their author would then be king Harṣa of Kanauj, named by Fa-hien "Sun of Virtue" (*kiai-jeu*), which is the translation of the Sanskrit Śīlāditya. Confusion between the two kings Harṣa could have been favoured by the fact that the translator of one of those hymns (and doubtless of the two) is Jñānamitra, that is to say, very probably the Kaśmīri Jñānaśrīmitra, who worked under the rule of Harṣa.[14]

Another circumstance could also have favoured that erroneous attribution : Harṣadeva was a poet; on this point we possess two sources of evidence, that of Kalhaṇa (*Sarvabhāṣāsu satkavih*, *R.T.*, VII, 610),[15] and that of Bilhaṇa.[16] Reconciliation of the two Harṣa was tempting, and Bilhaṇa is not afraid to affirm that Harṣa of Kaśmīr surpassed Śrī Harṣa.

One comes to think that if Harṣa of Kaśmīr enjoyed in Tibet a certain reputation, it is perhaps simply because he was bearing the same name as several famous rulers adopted by Buddhism with more or less reason : Harṣa of Kanauj doubtless, but also Vikramāditya Harṣa of Tāranātha (see above, chap. II)[17]. Again, the confusion could have arisen because

13. Une poésie inconnue du roi Harṣa Cīlāditya, in Actes du Xe Congrès des Orientalistes, Genève, 1894, 2nd part, pp. 189-203. Bühler was already nothing : "Harshadeva of Kashmir has sometimes been credited with the authorship of various works belonging both to Śrīharsha, the son of Hīra. and to the earlier king Śrīharsha" (*Vikramāṅkadevacharita, a life of king Vikramāditya*...Bombay, 1875, p. 10, n. 3).
14. We do not think that this confusion is wilfully deceitful, a courtesan monk abusing homonymy in order to flatter a sovereign that he preferred to conciliate.
15. See also the following *śloka*, *R.T.*, VII, 610-614.
16. *V.D.C.* XVIII, 64-66.
17. It is in this way that errors sometimes with serious consequence are (*Contd.*)

Harṣa of Kaśmīr was known in Tibet by some other title. The activity exhibited during his reign by Kaśmīri Buddhists and the Tibetans who were their hosts amply suffices to the attention of historians of Indian Buddhism.

PROBLEMS OF LOCALISATION

The activity of the Kaśmīri Buddhists was displayed partly in Kaśmīr, partly in western Tibet, and occasionally even further afield at Lha-sa and as far as China, for Jayānanda worked with Kun-dga' grags at the *vihāra* of Khyad-par mkhar-sku, residence of a royal garrison, situated between the Chu-bo rma (the Hoang-ho) and the slopes of the Ri-bo rce-lṅa (Ou-t'ai shan) in Shan-si.[18]

In Kaśmīr, the two most important Buddhist centres are named 'Khor-lo 'jin and Groṅ-khyer dpe-med. The city designated under the names of :

– Groṅ-khyer chen-po dpe-med [Anupamamahāpura];
– Groṅ-khyer dpe-med [Anupamapura];
– Dpe-med groṅ [Anupamapura];

or again :

Kha-che'i groṅ-khyer [Kaśmīrapura],

can then vie in importance, for the work accomplished there, with the large universities of Bengal, and yet nothing in the *Rājataraṅgīṇī* recalls that name. The rendering of P. Cordier, presently adapted almost universally, Anupamapura, is it legitimate ? In Tibetan one finds the expression Kha-che'i groṅ khyer (without the addition of *dpe-med*) sometimes completed by a different laudative epithet : a commentary of the *Hetubindu* by Arcaṭa[19] has been translated *'jam-gliṅ sñiṅ-po Kha-che'i groṅ-khyer-ṅu*, "at [Kaśmīrapura] heart of the Jambudvīpa". But the expression, which is the most frequent, of *Kha-che'i groṅ-khyer dpe-med ṅu*, can also very well be translated by *Kāśmīreṣu* (or *Kaśmīramaṇḍale*) *Anupamapure*

born : Sum-pa mkham-po Ye-śes dpal 'byor does not hesitate to affirm that Śrī Harṣa of Kaśmīr was a contemporary of Gopāla, founder of Nālandā (*P.S.J.Z.*, 110).

18. *Mdo*, XXV.
19. *Mdo*, CXI, ෆ.

"in the city of Anupamapura in Kaśmīr." The habitual epithet can very well have become the proper name by metonymy, to the extent it is permissible to utilise that language with Tibetan.[20] S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa confirms this point of view in translating Kha-che'i groṅ khyer dpe-med by "the model city of Kaśmīra." Well, the name of Kaśmīrapura is known from Buddhistic sources and that city is named by the *Aśokāvadana* among the retreats loved by scholars.[21] As a title such as that of Kaśmīrapura can only be applied to the capital, it is definitely very probable that the city designated under the name of Anupamapura by Cordier and, after him, by various authors, is none other than Śrīnagar.

Monasteries were numerous at Groṅ-khyer dpe-med, but their identification proves very difficult. The monastery (*chos-skor*) founded by Lalitastetya[22] (if it is admitted that Groṅ-khyer dpe-med is indeed Śrīnagar) could be neither the Muktavihāra nor the Rājavihāra, the foundation of which Kalhaṇa attributes to Lalitāditya since the first used to be at Huṣkapura[23] and the second at Parihāsapura.[24] The *jarame'i gcug-lag khaṅ*, for which P. Cordier suggests the hypothetical restitution [Yamārivihāra] was an imposing building, since care is taken to specify that a certain commentary of the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu had been translated in "the northern

20. One circumstance perhaps favourised that displacement: the ancient name of Śrīnagar used to be Pravarasenapura "the city founded by Pravarasena", and it was shortened to Pravarapura (abreviation *bhīmavat*). Yet, in that form, this name, to which the Kaśmīris moreover simply preferred the appellation Nagara means "the best of cities" : Groṅ-khyer dpe-med could in ever so small a degree be considered as a translation of it.
21. *Divyāvadana*, XXVII, p. 339, quoted by Sylvain LEVI, Catalogue des Yakṣa de la Mahāmāyūrī, *Journal Asiatique*, Feb. 1915.
    In the 17th century, THEVENOT wrote again : "The city of Cachmir, which bears the name of the province, and which some call Syrenaquer......" (*Récits de voyages de M. de Thévenot*, 3rd part, p. 171).
22. *Mdo*, CXIII.
23. *R.T.*, IV, 188.
24. *R.T.*, IV, 200.

tower" of that *vihāra*.[25] But, according to our information sources, the most active monastery during the 11th century was the Ratnaguptavihāra (Rin-chen sbas-pa), where sojourned the Tibetan Ñi-ma grags, doubtless identical to the park (*kun-dga' ra-ba*) of Rin-chen sbas-pa, the [Ratnaguptārāma][26], and the *ratnarasme'i gcug-lag khaṅ* [Ratnaraśmivihāra][27], where also worked Ñi-ma grags and one of his usual collaborators.

The localisation of 'Khor-lo 'jin [Cakradhara], where several logicians stayed, indirectly furnishes a supplementary argument to the identification of Groṅ-khyer dpe-med and of Śrīnagar. 'Khor-lo 'jin is a locality (*yul*) situated to the east of Groṅ-khyer dpe-med, in the Rnam-par rgyal-ba'i ziṅ [Vijayakṣetra].[28] Vijayakṣetra says P. Cordier, is Kaśmīr. Perhaps the expression Rnam-par rgyal-ba'i ziṅ in fact designated it as a whole, but Vijayakṣetra is more precisely a district of Kaśmīr. On a little tableland dominating the Vitastā, used to be found a famous *Vaiṣṇava tirtha*; it is there that was erected, as A. Stein[29] has shown, the temple of Cakradhara (in Tibetan *'khor-lo 'jin*) : that temple gave its name to the plateau, in our day Tsakadar. It is more than probable that the *vihāra*, where worked Bhavyarāja and his disciples, arose on that. Now, Cakradhara is indeed situated to the east of Śrīnagar, or rather, due to the general orientation of the valley, to the South-east.

OVERALL PICTURE

At Śrīnagar an important laic group was forming around some descedents of Ratnavajra : Mahājana, collaborator of Marpa, elderly but still active, his son Sajjana whose reputation somewhat eclipses that of his father, Sukṣmajana, last offspring of that brilliant line.

As for the monks who were working in the capital city, at Parihāsapura or in some more remote convents, but whose careers partly unfolded more often far from Kaśmīr, in

25. *Mdo*, LXIX-LXX, 1.
26. *Mdo*, XVIII, 1 and XXIV, 2.
27. *Mdo*, CXII, 15.
28. *Mdo*, XCV, 10, and *Mdo*, XCIX-C.
29. *A.S.R.T.*, II, 461.

Magadha, in Western Tibet and even at Lha-sa, they are : Jñānaśrī, still very important although rather mysterious; Jayānanda, he also a little apart; Parahita, Bhavyarāja, Manoratha, known as "logicians", but who interested themselves in many other spheres; some *bhikṣu* less well defined, but who nevertheless accomplished an enormous task, especially in the matter of the *mādhyamika* philosophy and of *prajñāpāramitāśāstra*, Alaṅkārakalaśa, Tilakakalaśa and Kanakavarman; finally some others whose almost negligible work safeguards their name, so that they hardly emerge from the anonymous crowd of the monasteries.

Numerous Tibetans undertook the Kaśmīr journey in order to seek instruction from those master-teachers and certain of them stayed a very long time in the valley : besides Blo-ldan śes-rab and his companions, whose arrival date is known accurately through the *Blue Annals* (1077), it is necessary to name Grags-'byor śes-rab, Phags-pa śes-rab, Ñi-ma grags and doubtless many other assistants of Kaśmīri translators, whose places of work are not specified : Gzon-nu mchog, Chul-khrims-'byuṅ-gnas, etc. It is not useless to present briefly the most important among them, those whose names recur more frequently. The *Blue Annals* permit us to do so, and one would wish that they furnished about the Kaśmīri authors biographical indications as precise.

Blo-ldan śes-rab born in 1059, the year of the Earth-Pig,[30] belonged to the noble family of the Rṅog whose ancestor had been minister to Khri-sroṅ lde-bean, and he was nephew of Legs-pa'i śes-rab. After being instructed near his uncle and Chul-khrims śes-rab, he was present at the conference of the Fire-Dragon year and when 17 years of age, made his way to Kaśmīr in the company of Kha-bo-che "and others". There he was a pupil of Sajjana and of Parahitabhadra. He was then in the care of Rse-lde's son, Dbaṅ-phyug-lde, who furnished him with some subsidies on his departure from Tibet, then sent him in Kaśmīr a new sum of gold after having received from his protegy a letter entitled *Kha-che gser-sloṅs*.[31] That generous protection permits him to prolong his studies in

30. *B.A.*, pp. 124 and 328.
31. *B.A.*, p. 325.

Kaśmīr for seventeen years and to translate, at the request of his patron, the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra*. On returning to Tibet, in 1092, he studied with Sthirapāla and with the Nepalese Sumatikīrti. Then he went to Nepal, before resuming in Tibet his activity of translator, which he carried on concurrently with teaching duties to which he was assigned : diffusion of what he had himself learned from his Kaśmīri masters, that is to say, logic, the Mādhyamika and the *five treatise* of Maitreya. He preached at Lha-sa, at Bsam-yas, at Mya-gu-sna, Gñal-sgaṅ-thog, Gcaṅ-rgyan-mkhar, etc., and busied himself with forming numerous instructors. Tibetan author quoted by Gzon-nu dpal, Gro-luṅ-pa, estimates at 23,000 the number of his disciples. A great traveller, he died while still young, only fifty years of age, in the course of a removal on the route from Bsam-yas.[32]

Ñi-magrags was a native of the district of the Pa-chab, and he is frequently called Pa-chab-lo or simply Pa-chab (which risks entailing confusion with his pupil Pa-chab sgom-pa, born in 1077, died 1158). Born in 1055, Pa-chab-lo went to Kaśmīr "in his youth", pointer unhappily somewhat imprecise, and which does not permit to know if his arrival is previous to that of Blo-ldan śes-rab. At all events his stay in Kaśmīr was longer than that of his illustrious compatriot, since he prolonged it for 23 years. On returning to his native 'Phan-yul, he grouped around him a great number of disciples, thanks, at the outset, to the generosity of Śar-ba-pa, and he taught mainly the Mādhyamika. Afterwards he took up again at Lha-sa his tasks of translator, in particular with the Kaśmīri Kanakavarman and with Muditāśrī. His interpretation work was considerable and doubtless excellent,[33] but Ñi-ma, so it seems, had a correct opinion of his competence and what he himself declares on the subject of the translation of the commentary on the *Guhyasamājatantra* entitled *Pradīpoddyotana* done by Rin-chen bzaṅ-po, does not fail to throw an

32. *B.A.*, pp. 325-327.
33. It is thus that May estimates his Tibetan translation of the Prasannapāda "extremely remarkable for the precision and exactitude taken to render the nuances and terminology of the original Sanskrit" (MAY, *Prasannapāda*, pp. 6-7).

interesting light on his character : "Rin-chen bzaṅ-po, who had a reputation as an excellent translator, boasted of having done an interpretation of that text, corrected it and published it. Having noticed that the translation was not done quite correctly, myself Ñi-ma grags, I have retranslated it." A fine longevity permits him to teach at Yar-kluṅs the Mādhyamika and the Guhyasamāja during many years. It is thus that Brcon-'grus gzon-nu, born in 1123, and who at eighteen years of age had taken vows as one of the boy faithful, ultimately received ordination from Ñi-ma grags : the activity of that prolific translator covers therefore also all the first half of the 12th century.[34]

On the subject of 'Phags-pa śes-rab, often referred to simply as the *lo-cā-ba* of Zaṅs-dkar, the *Blue Annals* do not furnish us indications so complete. That translator, contemporary of Blo-ldan śes-rab,[35] only commenced his studies after the death of the great *lo-cā-ba*, Rin-chen bzaṅ-po. He developed under the guidance of Legs-pa'i śes-rab, did some translation work in central Tibet, and in Nepal, before taking up his abode in Mṅa'-ris, wherefrom he undertook a journey to Kaśmīr. He received initiation to the *cycle of Saṃvara* of Kha-che Dgon-pa-pa [Kaśmīra āraṇyaka] (Jñānasrībhadra?)[36] at the same time as Rma-lo, that is to say, Chos-'bar, and he communicated that same series to a Tibetan, born in 1094, whom he instructed during six years.[37]

It has not seemed without interest to set up the complete list of the assistants of those three grand *lo-cā-ba*, to which has been added Grags-'byor śes-rabs : one is thus assured of knowing the most prolific Indian translators having worked in the last quarter of the 11th century and at the start of the

34. *B.A.*, pp. 341-343.
35. *B.A.*, p. 70.
36. *B.A.*, p. 232.
37. *B.A.*, p. 1009. The *lo-cā-ba* should not be confused with the Tibetan teacher named simply 'Phags-pa (1086-1157), who, entered in holy orders in 1103, was a pupil of the celebrated Pu-to-ba, and himself had numerous disciples (*B.A.*, pp. 234 and 237). That 'Phags-pa received the *cycle of Saṃvara* from Rma-lo who had himself received it at the same time as 'Phags-pa śes-rab.

12th, and out of twenty nine, fourteen are surely Kaśmīris[38] and one Nepalese;[39] the origin of the others is impossible to determine. Of those translator-interpretors, one only collaborated with Rin-chen bzaṅ po : Kanakavarman is then among the more elderly; one only collaborated with Chul-khrims 'byuṅ-gnas (born in 1107) : Alaṅkārakalaśa, who is therefore among the youngest. As to the others, it is indeed difficult to classify them chronologically : tables similar to that which we present, established for only the Kaśmīris, have not revealed any significant groupments. Nevertheless, it has appeared good to indicate the translators who collaborated with Mar-pa, whose activity started in the first half of the 11th century.

	Mar-pa	*Grags 'byer śes-rab*	*'Phags-pa śes-rab*	*Blo-ldan śes-rab*	*Ñi-ma grags*
Atulyadāsa			o	o	
Amaragomin				o	
Amoghavajra	o		o		
Alaṅkārakalaśa K.					o
Kanakavarman K.					o

38. Their name is accompanied in the list below by the letter K.
Let us add to that list another Kaśmīri, Guṇākaraśrībhadra, belonging to a monastery of Groṅ-khyer dpe-med, who had the honour of being the *guru* of the *lha bla-ma* Zi-ba 'od. He collaborated with his royal pupil in order to translate a text of *hetuvidya*, the *Tattvasaṃgrahakārikā* of Śāntirakṣita (*Mdo*, CXII, 1) (319 p.). The same translator, collaborating that time with Rab-zi bśes-gñen, put into Tibetan the *Bodhicittavivarana* of Nāgārjuna (*Rg.*, XXXIII, 5) (11 p.), text of Guhyasamāja.

39. His name is accompanied by the letter N.

		Mar-pa	*Grags 'byor śes-rav*	*'Phags-pa śes-rab*	*Blo-ldan śes-rab*	*Ñi-ma grags*
Kumāraśrī	K.			o		
Jayānanda	K.		o			o
Jñānaśrī	K.			o		
Tilakakalaśa	K.				o	o
Tejodeva				o		
Devendrabhadra			o			
Dharamarāja				o		
Nayanaśrī					o	
Parahita	K.			o	o	
Bhavyarāja	K.				o	o
Bhairavadeva			o			
Mañjuśrīsattva					o	
Manoratha	K.				o	

		Mar-pa	*Grags 'byor śes-rab*	*'Phags-pa śes-rab*	*Blo-ldan śes-rab*	*Ñi-ma grags*
Mahākaruṇa				o		
Mahājana	K.	o		o	o	
Mahāsumati	K.					o
Muditaśrī		o				o
Varandraruci					o	
Vināyaka	K.		o		o	
Sajjana	K.				o	
Sunayaśrī				o		
Sumatikīrti	N.	o	o		o	
Sūkṣmajana	K.					o
Sthirapāla					o	

(K—Kaśmīri ; N—Nepalese)

THE LAITY OF GROṄ-KHYER DPE-MED : THE POSTERITY OF RATNAVAJRA

In the capital, an eminent layman was gathering numerous students: this master is none other than Ratnavajra's grandson, Sajjana. All Ratnavajra's line distinguished themselves during the second half of the 11th century, but Mahājana, Ratnavajra's son, was a paltry figure in comparison with his son Sajjana, who was one of the most famous scholars of the time.

Mahājana is author only of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayārthaparijñāna* (*Mdo*, XVI, 15) (23 p.), commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra* (Conze 11-Cy 7). He himself put that work into the Tibetan language with the help of *lo-cā-ba* Seṅ-ge rgyal-mchan. He also collaborated with Mar-pa, and it is in the company of the best known of Nāropā's Tibetan pupils that he translates the letter addressed by his son Sajjana to his grandson Sūkṣmajana : *Brāhmaṇasajjanena putrāya preṣita lekha* (*Mdo*, XCIV, 32) (7 p.) and two short texts of his father : the *Śrīcakrasaṃvaramaṇḍaladevagaṇastotra* (*Rg*., XIV, 10) (3 p.); and the *Śrīcakrasaṃvarastotra* (*Rg*., XIV, 11) (3 p.). The majority of the other texts translated by Ratnavajra's son are connected with the *Nāmasaṅgītiyogatantra*. They are :

some writings of Somaśrī, translated with the assistance of Gzon-nu 'od ;

—*Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītisādhana* (*Rg*., LXI, 29) (38 p.);
—*Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītimaṇḍalapāyikā* (*Rg*., LXI, 30) (26 p.);
—*Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgitisarvamaṇḍalastotra* (*Rg*., LXI, 31);
—*Viṃśatyākārābhisamodhikrameṇa bhagavanmañjuśrīsādhana* (*Rg*., LXI, 28) (6 p.);

and some writings of Candrabhadrakīrti :

—*Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītināmavṛtti* (*Rg*., LIX, 1) (63 p.), (*lo*. 'Phags-pa śes-rab);
—*Āryamañjuśrīmaṇḍalavidhi cintāmaṇi nāma* (*Rg*., LXI, 9) (24 p.), (*lo*. Chul-khrims gzon-nu).

Mahājana also put into Tibetan, in collaboration with *lo-cā-ba* Gzon-nu mchog a text of *vinaya* :

—*Śrāmaṇeraśikṣāpadasūtra* of Kalyāṇamitra (*Mdo*, XC, 4) (31 p.).

Finally he translated with the help of Señ-ge rgyal-mchan a very short treatise of Vijñānavāda :

—the *Dharmadharmatāvibhaṅgakārikā* attributed to Maitreya (*Mdo*, XLIV, 4) (6 p.).
—and in collaboration with Blo-ldan śes-rab, the *vṛtti* of that text of Vasubandhu (*Mdo*, XLV, 2) (25 p.).[40]

These translations reveal a revival of interest in the doctrine of the Cittamātratā. That new vogue, almost that rediscovery of a doctrine which had been neglected to the profit of the Śūnyatavāda, is on equal footing with the broadcasting of the *Anuttarayogatantra*, and Sajjana is at the origin of that movement in Kaśmīr. His teaching is known in Tibet by the name of *Byams-chos*, "the doctrine of Maitreya", and Gzon-nu dpal states precisely that it was spread "with some variations" by Blo-ldan śes-rab, who had received if from Sajjana. According to the *Story of the school of Bcan*, the author of the *Blue Annals* relates, in a manner more or less legendary, how the texts expounding those doctrines had been, at that time, introduced or reintroduced at Śrīnagar[41] : the *Dharmadharmatāvibhaṅgakārikā* and the *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra*[42] which had

40. Other translations of Mahājana :
With Gzon-nu 'od :
Āryamāyājālakramena tārābhaṭṭārikāsādhana (author unknown) (*Rg*., XXVI, 22) (3 p.);
Ṣaḍakṣaratantrakrameṇa maṇḍalacakropadeśasādhana (author not mentioned) (*Rg*., LXVIII, 158) (5 p.);
with Blo-gros grogs-pa :
Āryajambhalastotra of Ratnavajra (*Rg*., LXXXIII, 64) (2 p.).
41. *B.A.*, p. 347.
42. The Sanskrit text of the *Ratnagotravibhāga mahāyānottaratantraśāstra* has been edited by E.H. JOHNSTON at Patna, in 1950.
(*Contd.*)

been lost, would have been rediscovered by Maitrī-pā, in a *stūpa*, whence emanated a supernatural light. He then prayed to Maitreya *ajita*, who appeared to him, and manifested to him the contents of the two books. In his turn Maitrī-pā taught them to a certain Ānandakīrti, who came to Kaśmīr disguised as a beggar. Sajjana would have recognized in him an eminent man and would have obtained from him the two books. He secured the diffusion of them, in particular by the paṇḍit Jñānaśrī, translated one of them in Tibetan and had the other translated by his father. Those two manuscripts, with the *Mahāyānasūtralaṅkārakārikā*, the *Madhyāntavibhaṅga* and the *Abhisamayalaṅkāra* (*Mdo*, XLIV, 1, 2 and *Mdo*, I, 1) constituted what use to be called the "five treatises of Maitreya".[43] The interpretation of the last-mentioned of those treatises was rearranged at Tho-liṅ by Parahitabhadra, which confirms the interest which used to be taken in that collection of texts as much in Kaśmīr as in the part of Tibet directly subject to Kaśmīri influence. Although the *Blue Annals* do not set forth, on the subject of the invention of the two "lost" texts, a different tradition from that mentioned in the *Story of the school of Bcan*, it is probable that that Gzon-nu dpal had information more complete and more precise. After having discussed some points of doctrine, he adds in fact (p. 349) : "it seems to be true that the Venerable Maitrī-pā had rediscovered these two basic texts of

Among the Sanskrit manuscripts rediscovered in Tibet by the Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, the most venerable is written in old *śārada* characters (manuscript A of the editor) : that is what leads us again to Kaśmīr. According to Johnston, that manuscript could be from the 10th century. If one refers to the passage quoted from the *Blue Annals*, it ought preferably to belong to the 11th century.

The English translation of that text according to the Tibetan translation (*Mdo*, XLIV, 5) has been done by E. OBERMILLER and published in *Acta Orientalia*, IX, under the title : The sublime science of the Great Vehicle to Salvation, being a Manual of Buddhist Monism, the work of Ārya Maitreya, with a commentary by Āryāsaṅga, Leiden, 1931.

The *Madhyāntavibhaṅga*, was edited and translated by Th. STCHERBATSKY (*B.B.*, XXX, Leningrad, 1936).

43. *B.A.*, p. 1074. See, on this point, the article of STCHERBATSKY, La littérature Yogācāra d'après Bouston, in *Le Muséon*, vol. VI, 1905, pp. 144-155.

the Maitreya Doctrine, for the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-āloka* and other works contain numerous quotations from the *Madhyāntavibhaṅga* and from the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, but do not contain any quotation from these two more recent śāstras". The Maitrī-pā, here referred to, is the *mahāsiddha* of the commencement of of the 11th century, known also by the name of Avadhūtapāda, Advayavajra, who collaborated with Mar-pa and who had sometimes been confused with Maitreya or Maitreyanātha, the teacher of Asaṅga.[44]

Whatever be the hypothetical origins of the *Uttaratantra*, one point remains certain : its teaching in Tibet goes back to two Kaśmīris, Jñānaśrī, who would have expounded it on Mount Srin-po-ri,[45] and Sajjana, teacher of Kha-bo-che and of Blo-ldan śes-rab. As to comparison of the *Uttaratantra* and the Vijñānavāda, that seems due very much more to a historic masting than to doctrinal relationship. Even in Tibet, the *Uttaratantra* has not always been considered as a text of Vijñānavādin inspiration, as is proved by a remark from the *Blue Annals*: "The Venerable Red-mda'-pa believed at first the *Uttaratantra* to be a Vijñānamātra work, and even composed a commentary from the standpoint of the followers of the Vijñānamātra school."[46] Coṅ-kha-pa considered it Prāsaṅgika, and Johnston, for his part also considers the *Uttaratantra* as a work of Mādhyamika tendency.[47]

Sajjana, whose oral instruction is of such importance, only wrote the letter addressed to his son and translated by his father (*Mdo*, XCIV, 32) and he translated into Tibetan, in collaboration with Blo-ldan śes-rab, only the *Uttaratantraśāstra* (40 p.), attributed to Maitreya, and the *Uttaratantraśāstravyākhā* (122 p,) (*Mdo*, XLIV, 5 and 6).

44. That Maitrī-pā was, we are told, from Bengal (*Rg.*, XLVIII, 119) and resided on Mount Śrīśaila (*Rg.*, LXIX, 112) "in southern India".
45. *B.A.*, p. 349.
46. *B.A.*, p. 349.
47. But he attributes it to a certain Sthiramati, who would be previous to Asaṅga. Now, Sthiramati figures in the filiation of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* after Asaṅga. He is author of a *ṭīkā* of the *Madhyāntavibhaṅga*, of which S. LEVI refound a manuscript in Nepal (edited by S. YAMAGUCHI, Nagaya, 1934).

Last known off spring of a brilliant family of Kaśmīri brahmins, Sūkṣmajana from whom no writings have been preserved for us, accomplished, in collaboration with Ñi-ma grags, the interpretation of the *Bodhisattvayogācāryācatuḥśa-takakārikā* (*Mdo*, XVIII, 1) (41 p.), attributed to Āryadeva, and of their *ṭīkā* by Candrakīrti (*Mdo*, XXIV, 2) (480 p.).

JÑĀNAŚRĪBHADRA

The most illustrious master-teacher introduced to the doctrine of Maitreya by Sajjana, is the Kaśmīri Jñānaśrī, who come to Tibet during the reign of Rce-lde, at the king's invitation according to Bu-ston (p. 215), without having been invited there, according to Gzon-nu dpal (p. 70), had for pupil and assistant the *lo-cā-ba* of Zaṅs-dkar, 'Phags-pa śes-rab, and played an important role in the spreading of logic and of the *Abhisamaya*. As that author himself collaborated in the translation of his own works and data concerning him are quite numerous and convergent, the inventory of his work is easy to set up : here it is sufficient to mention the essential references. The Kaśmīri logician Jñānaśrī, author of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya-ṭīkā* himself translated it into Tibetan with the assistance of Chos-kyi brcon-'grus (*Mdo*, CX, 2). Moreover, we know that Jñānaśrībhadra, native of Groṅ-'khyer dpe-med, undertook at the *vihāra* of Tho-liṅ, on the order of Rce-lde, a new translation of the *Vinayasaṃgraha* (*Mdo*, LXXIV, 2) in collaboration with the *lo-cā-ba* Rgyal-ba śes-rab and Śākya bśes-gñen and always to the order of Rce-lde and also of Zi-ba 'od, he did the version of the *Vādanyāyaprakaraṇa* of Dharmakīrti (*Mdo*, XCV, 16). It is possible to conclude from this that the Kaśmīri logician Jñānaśri and the translator who collaborated with Chos-kyi brcon-'grus, Dge-ba'i blo-gros, 'Phags-pa śes-rab, Rab-zi bśes-gñen, Śākya bśes-gñen, Rgyal-ba śes-rab, and who appears under the names of Jñānaśrī, Jñānaśrībhadra, Jñānaśrīmitra, Jñānamitra, is one and the same personage.

PROBLEMS OF IDENTIFICATION

This Jñānaśrī is he the same who was "central pillar" of Vikramaśīla in the time of Caṇaka and taught "the system"

to Balin Ācārya?[48] According to Tāranātha who devotes to him a long notice, the "central pillar" would have been "a native of Bengal" but Tāranātha has a tendency to relate to Bengal everything concerning the great university. The *Blue Annals* are unaware of a Jñānaśrī native of Eastern India, in the same way as Tāranātha fails to recognize the Kaśmīri Jñānaśrī. The central pillar of Vikramaśīla would be the writer of the *Mtha'-gñis sel-ba*, that is to say of the [*Vajrayānakoṭidvayāpohā*][49] ("Enthüllung der beiden Enden des Vadschrajana", Schiefner, p. 241, n. 1), but especially the catalogue of the *Bstan-'gyur* does not furnish any indication about the translators of that work, indication which would have been precious for identification of its author with our Kaśmīri. Finally, the "central pillar" Jñanaśrī was, according to Tāranātha, the teacher of Atīśa, who owed very much to him : in fact, Atīśa wended his way to Tibet before Jñānaśrī, but the translation of- the *Vādanyāyaprakaraṇa* was reviewed by Atīśa, which moret over permits to suppose that Rse-lde, "ordonnateur" of tha translation, had mounted the throne before the death of Jo-bo-rje. It is possible to think that Atīśa has his old master come to Tibet, may be the latter had remained in Magadha after his departure, may be he had also left the Magadha around the year 1040 in order to return to Kaśmīr. That would permit not to reject completely Tāranātha's affirmation (p. 243) that the six great guardians of the gate were dead at the moment when Atīśa came to Tibet, but only to interpret it : the career at Vikramaśīla of those six great master-teachers had then terminated. Nāropā, Ratnavajra, Vāgīsvarakīrti were dead, but the life of Jñānaśrī was perhaps entering a new phase. It is then strongly possible that the Kaśmīri Jñānaśrī be the celebrated professor from Vikramaśīla. It would only be necessary to admit, if one adheres to that hypothesis, may be that Jñānaśrī was younger than his colleagues, may be that he enjoyed a much longer life.[50] Jñānaśrī would, in any case, have been (to believe Pad-ma dkar-po on the subject) the student of at least one of his colleagues, Nāropā.

48. *B.A.*, pp. 372-373.
49. *Rg.*, LXXII, 10.
50. See above, Chapter V, p. 157, f.n. 8.

When Jñānaśrī devoted himself of his service of translator he had given up all teaching in India and had perhaps opted for a retired life, which could have merited for him the title of Dgon-pa-pa [*āraṇyaka*]. That identification of Jñānaśrī and of Dgon-pa-pa, admitted by P. Cordier, is not however evident. Marcelle Lalou was already doubting it in 1933 : in the *Rēpertoire du Tanjur*, she marked it with a point of interrogation.

Certainly, there existed between Dgon-pa-pa and Jñānaśrī some strict links, emphasised in particular in the colophons of *Rg*., LXXIII, 56 and 57 : the *Abhisamayahṛdaya*, whose author is the *bla-ma* Dgon-pa-pa of Kaśmīr, is named in the colophon *Jña-na-śri'i mṅon-par-rtogs-pa'i-sñiṅ-po*, the *vṛtti* of that text would have for author Vīravajra, presented as the composer of the first text, but a note to the colophon attributes it to the *lo-cā-ba* of Zaṅs-dkar, "according to the teaching of Dgon-pa-pa", and the colophon specifies that it concerns instruction from two paṇḍits of Kaśmīr, a comment naming those two paṇḍits Jñānaśri and Dgon-pa-pa. P. Cordier concludes : "In comparing this contradictory data, it seems that one could nevertheless consider Āraṇyaka Jñānaśrīmitra as the author and Vīravajra as the editor of texts 56 and 57." The identification thus proposed of Jñānaśrī and Dgon-pa-pa offers the serious inconvenience of explicitly contradicting the evidence of the *lo-cā-ba* of 'Gos: Kha-che Dgon-pa-pa, disciple of Kālacakrapāda the young, equally known as the Kha-che pan-chen, was a reincarnation of the king of Tibet Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po, and his real name was Jayānanda.[51] On the contrary, nothing prevents one from thinking that Jñānaśrī have been able to collaborate with his younger compatriot Jayānanda.

Let us add that Dgon-pa-pa was a pupil of Atīśa,[52] student according to Tāranātha. of Jñānasrī. He has also been the teacher of the Tibetan Spyan-sṅa Chul-khrims-'bar, born in 1038,[53] and even of Śes-rab'od, born in 1057.[54] To admit that it is a question of Jñānaśrī, it would be necessary to suppose him to have had an exceptional longevity.

Whatever be the truth of these problematical identifications, Jñānaśrī is author of an important number of works. In all sixteen are attributed to him, but only three have some extent :

51. *B.A.*, p. 219.
52. *B.A.*, p. 284.
53. *B.A.*, p. 284.
54. *B.A.*, pp. 311-312.

—the *Āryālaṅkāvatāravṛtti*, in 7 *parivarta (Mdo*, XLII) (606 p.), which is a commentary on the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra (Mdo-sde*, no. 107);
—the *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā* (*Mdo*, CX, 2) (291 p.) commentary to the famous treatise of Dharmakīrti, which according to Stcherbatsky, belongs to the "philosophical tendency";[55]
—the *Āryaprajñāpāramitānayaśatapañcāśatkāṭīkā* (*Rg*., LXIII, 20) (51 p.), commentary on the *Adhyardhaśatikā* (17 cy I of the repertory of E. Conze).

That last work is not the only contribution of Jñānaśrī to the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature. Our author also composed a commentary to the *Hṛdayasūtra* : the *Bhagavatīprajñāpāramitāhṛdayavyākhyā (Mdo*, XVI, 9) (14 p.) (Conze : 11 cy 2).

Jñānaśrī's other writings are interesting above all because they reveal to us the variety of the interests of that author : the *Sūtrālankārapiṇḍārtha (Mdo*, XLVIII, 2) is a piece of writing of *cittamātravādin* tendency, the *Kāryakāraṇabhāvasiddhi*. (*Mdo*, CXII, 29) (8 p.), a text on logic. Finally, Jñānaśrī was a poet and his *Āryamañjughoṣastuti duṣkaraṇaviśeṣapravartananayamālā* is presented as an example *(udāharaṇa)* of versification (*Mdo*, CXVII, 6) (26 p.). The tantric texts he edited are of secondary importance; to the *Vajrapāṇisūtranīti* are attached five texts which, together, do not fill more than ten pages in Tibetan translation;[56] another very short text is linked to the Śaṃbara series.

55. *Buddhist Logic*, p. 42.
56. Here is the list of the minor works of JÑĀNAŚRĪBHADRA :
Vajrapāṇiyogatantra :
Vajragarbhopadeśasādhana (*Rg*., LXVIII, 210) (3 p.);
Vajravidāraṇīkarmacaturasādhanahomavidhi (*Rg*., LXVIII, 232);
Vajravidāraṇīkarmacaturasādhanakalaśavidhi (*Rg*., LXVIII, 233);
Vajravidāranikarmacaturasādhanacakravidhi (*Rg*., LXVIII, 234);
Vajravidāraṇīkarmasādhanavidhi (*Rg*., LXVIII, 235);
Vajravidāraviśvakarmasādhanavidhi (*Rg*., LXVIII, 236).
(In all 10 pages for the five last texts).
Cycle of Śaṃbara :
Sahajamaṇḍalatrayālokasañjanana (*Rg*., XIV, 20) (9 p.) translated by ZI-BA'OD.

(*Contd.*)

THE INTERPRETATIONS OF JÑĀNAŚRĪ

In Western Tibet, Jñānaśrī fulfilled an important task as a translator-interpreter. He settled at the monastery of Tabo, founded by Rin chen bzaṅ-po in the upper valley of the river Spiti,[57] and, in three years, he acquired a good knowledge of the Tibetan language.[58] He collaborated with various *lo-cā-ba*, but the one with whom he worked most constantly was 'Phags-pa śes-rab [Āryaprajña]. That student of the *lo-chuṅ* Legs pa'i śes-rab had done translations in central Tibet and in Nepal before coming to Mṅa'-ris, where he took up his abode and from where he undertook his journey to Kaśmīr.[59] One of the favourite disciples of this great translator, Ñi-ma śes-rab, of Gñal, was also the pupil of Jñānaśrī who for seven years taught him the Mantrayāna.

The *Mūlatantrasaṃgrahahṛdayābhidhānottaratantramūlavṛtti* of Śūraṃgamavajra (*Rg.*, VIII, 2) (270 p.) of the Śaṃbara series, was translated into Tibetan by Jñānaśrī and 'Phags-pa śes-rab[60] who also translated a shorter text of the *Mahāmāyā* series, the *Mahāmāyāsādhana* of Ratnavajra (*Rg.*, XXIII, 28) (5 p.). In co-operation with Chos-kyi brcon-'grus, Jñānaśrī

Texts relative to the general classification of the canon :
Vajrayānakoṭidvayāpoha (*Rg.*, LXXII, 10) (10 p.);
Śīlasaṃvarasamayāvirodha (*Rg.*, LXXII, 19) (6 p.).
Various Upadeśa concerning the ritual :
Abhisamayahṛdaya (*Rg.*, LXXIII, 56) (6 p.);
Abhisamayavṛtti (*Rg.*, LXXIII, 57) (19 p.).

57. Less important than that of Tho-liṅ, this monastery situated some kilometres from Lari has no less been one of the most brilliant religious centres of Western Tibet. FRANCKE described it briefly in his *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* (I, pp. 38 sq.).
58. *B.A.*, p. 355.
59. *B.A.*, pp. 354-355.
60. The catalogue of P. Cordier gives as translator of that text the *lo-cā-ba* 'Phags-pa śes-rab Jñānaśrīmitra. At issue, there is a manifest error not made by the catalogue of the edition of Sde-dge of Tohoku Imperial University : it is 'Phags-pa śes-rab *and* Jñānaśrīmitra which it is necessary to read. That confusion is moreover echoed in other places in P. Cordier's catalogue, and comes to interfere with the problem of the identity of Jñānaśrī and of Dgon-pa-pa (*Rg.*, LXXIII, 56 and 57).

accomplished the Tibetan version of his *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā* (*Mdo*, CX, 2) (291 p.) and of his *Sūtrālaṅkārapiṇḍārtha* (*Mdo*, XLVIII, 2) (14 p.). The *Vajravidāraṇīsādhana* of the Kaśmīri Gaṅgādhara and connected texts, edited by Maṇivajra and Jñānaśrī himself (*Rg*., LXVIII, 225-236) (21 p) (see foot note p. 224), were translated by Jñānaśrī and Rab-zi bśes-gñen, of Cog-gru. Those translators joined Blo-gros sñiṅ-po in order to put into Tibetan the *Śīlasaṃvarasamayāvirodha* (*Rg*., LXXII, 19) (6 p.). Finally, as has been seen, for the important task of correction of the Tibetan version of the *Vinayasaṃgraha*, Jñānaśrī was assisted by two translators, Rgyal-ba śes-rab and Śā-kya bśes-gñen (*Mdo*, LXXIV, 2) (250 p.), and it is Dge-ba'i blo-gros who aided him to translate the *Vādanyāyaprakaraṇa*[61] (*Mdo*, XCV, 16).

Apart from Vīravajra who was the "editor" and perhaps merely the copyist of the *Abhisamayahṛdaya* and of its *vṛtti* (see above), we know the name of a Kaśmīri *bhikṣu* who worked in Jñānaśrī's group : it is Narasadeva translator of a very short text, the *Śrāmaṇeravarṣāgrapṛcchā* (*Mdo*, XC, 6) (4 p.) in collaboration with Rgyal-ba'i śes-rab, the same who assisted Jñānaśrī in his interpretation of the *Vinayasaṃgraha*.[62]

THE LOGICIANS

The chief logicians near whom Blo-ldan śes-rab was instructed in the Kaśmīri monasteries are Parahitabhadra, Bhavyarāja, Mahāsumati and Manoratha; as to Jñānaśrībhadra, who in western Tibet was the heart of such an important work

61. Jñānaśrī equally collaborated with Śā-kya-'od in translation of the *Guhyakoṣa nāma mantraśāstra* of SARORUHA. It would remain to wonder if Rājaśrijñānamitra, who translated the *Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityavandanāstava*, attributed to Harṣa king of Kaśmīr, can be the same personage. That problem has been skimmed elsewhere (cf. p. 207; see above p. 157, f.n. 8).

62. That event, very insignificant in appearance, is however wellknown in a story in verse about the first propagation of the doctrine, quoted by the *Blue Annals*. In that passage our Kaśmīri receives the name of Narayadeva : "Having brought from Nepal, the Sanskrit text of the *Śrāmaṇeravarṣāgrapṛcchā*, he came to Tho-liṅ, consulted the Sanskrit text which used to belong to Dharmapāla, and, having corrected it in the presence of the *upādhyāya* Narayadeva of Kaśmīr, he translated it and taught it" (*B.A.*, p. 86.).

centre, it is nowhere mentioned that he had worked in Kaśmīr. Perhaps that omission comes from the fact that the Kaśmīri period of his career is previous to the arrival of Blo-ldan śes-rab and Ñi-ma grags in Kaśmīr. It is then permissible to think that the opening of a fine school of logic in Kaśmīr during the reign of Harṣa is perhaps the consequence of the impetus given by Jñānaśrī. Moreover those master-teachers did not interest themselves exclusively in the *hetuvidyā*. On the contrary it is curious to note the variety of their studies. However it is convenient to group them, since it seems that their Tibetan students above all considered them as grammarians of thought. But in the perspective of those rivals, who were discovering with wonder the subtleties of the dialectic, it seems that the title of *rtog-ge-pa* [*tārkika*] sometimes takes a meaning close to what we give to "philosopher".

Doubtless the most elderly of those master-teachers is also the most remarkable. Parahitabhadra (Gzan-la phan-pa bzaṅ-po), student of Ratnavajra[63], has above all a reputation as a logician. Yet, he only did one work on logic, and that again of relatively secondary importance : the translation into Tibetan of the *Sambandhayarīkṣānusāra* (*lo.* Dga'-ba rdo-rja) (*Mdo*, CXII, 2). The importance of Parahita in our perspective is otherwise : that pupil of the *mahāpaṇḍita* Somaśrī of Kaśmīr[64] is author, in addition to a short text on ritual[65], of two philosophical commentaries, the one of *mādhyamika* tendency, the *Śūnyatāsaptativivṛti* (*Mdo*, XXIV, 5) (87 p.), over-commentary of 70 stanzas about the vacuity of Nāgārjuna; the other of *yogācāra* tendency, the *Sūtrālaṅkārādiślokadvayavyā-*

63. That writer must not be confused with Gzan-la phan-pa'i dbyaṅs Dgon-pa-pa [Prahitaghoṣa Āraṇyaka], author of a *Praṇidhānasaptati nāma gāthā* which occurs again in two places in the *Bstan-'gyur* (*Mdo*, XXXIII, 53 and CXXXVI, 38).

64. *Mdo*, XXIV, 5 and XLVIII, I.

65. *Maṇḍalābhiṣekavidhi* (*Rg.*, XXVI, 27) (4 p.). According to the index, PARAHITA would equally be the author of the two preceding texts, the *Uḍḍiyānatārābhisamayakrama* (*Rg.*, XXVI, 25) (3 p.) and the *Uḍḍiyanatārākrama* (*Rg.*, XXVI, 26) (2 p.) (Cycle of the Anuttaratārā).

khyāna (*Mdo*, XLVIII, I) (23 p.), commentary on the two initial *śloka* of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*.[66]

As to his translation work, Parahitabhadra executed it in collaboration with several wellknown *lo-cā-ba* : 'Phags-pa śes-rab, the assistant of Jñānaśrībhadra, Śes-rab rgyal-mchan, the *lo-cā-ba* of Nag-cho who equally assisted Atīśa and, at Tho-liṅ, Gzon-nu mchog and Dga'-ba rdo-rje. The most important of his translations, at least for length, is that of the *ṭīkā* by Vīravajra of the *Śrīśaṃbaramūlatantra* entitled *Padārthaprakāśikā* (*Rg*., VII, 8) (206 p.). For that task Parahita was associated with the famous 'Phags-pa śes-rab, with whom he also translated another text of Vīravajra also belonging to the Śaṃbara series, the *Yoginīsaṃcāryatantranibandha padārthaprākāśa nāma* (*Rg*., XII, 4) (32 p.). In addition to his own writings, which he translated at Tho-liṅ with the help of Gzon-nu mchog, Parahita also put into Tibetan a certain number of texts of lesser importance.[67]

66. A certain Parahitarakṣita, who is perhaps different from Parahitabhadra, composed a *ṭippanī* of the *Pañcakrama*, which does not seem to have been translated into Tibetan, but has been edited by LA VALLEE POUSSIN at the same time as the *Pañcakrama*.

67. Translations done in collaboration with the *lo-cā-ba* Śes-rab rgyal-mchan :

Cycle of Śaṃbara :

Abhiṣekavidhikrama of RATNAŚRĪ (*Rg*., XIV, 16) (16 p.).

Cycle of the Anuttaratārā :

Ekavīrayoginī sādhana, attributed to [Vajravati ḍākini] (*Rg*., XXVI, 28) (2 p.);
Uḍḍiyānakramatārādevīsādhana, attributed to the same (*Rg*., XXVI, 29) (7 p.);
Balyalpavidhi (*Rg*., XXVI, 80) (1 p.);
Pīṭhīśvarīpūjākrama (*Rg*., XXVI, 31) (5 p.);
Tattvakārikā (of SUJAYAŚRĪBHADRA?) (*Rg*., XXVI, 32) (3 p.);
Tattvakārikopadeśavṛtti (*Rg*., XXVI, 33) (12 p.);
Pīṭhīkramatārādevīstotra (*Rg*., XXVI, 34) (1 p.);
Vajraghaṇṭalakṣaṇa (*Rg*., XXVI, 36) (3 p.);
Kapālapūjāvidhi (*Rg*., XXVI, 37) (1 p.).

Cycle of the Prajñāpāramitā :

Akṣasūtralakṣaṇa (same *lo-cā-ba*) (*Rg*., LXIII, 23) (2 p);
Snānavidhi (*Rg*., LXIII, 24) (4 p.);

Corrections of *yogācāra* commentaries :

Dharmadharmatāvibhaṅga of MAITREYA (*Mdo*, XLIV, 3) (6 p.) (*lo*. Dga'-ba rdo-rje). (*Contd*.)

The principal collaborator of Blo-ldan śes-rab, with whom he did some translations of considerable value, is the Kaśmīri Bhavyrāja *upādhyāya* and *paṇḍita*, whose name recalls that of the *prāsaṅgika* philosopher Bhavya or Bhāvaviveka.[68] Unlike so many others, who grappled by turns with all kinds of subjects, Bhavyarāja only interpreted texts on logic, either, the more often, with the aid of Blo-ldan śes-rab at Cakradhara, or at the Ratnaraśmivihāra at Groṅ-khyer dpe-med. The writings of the Kaśmīris Dharmottara and Śaṅkarānanda were put into Tibetan thanks to that fertile collaboration :

—*Apohaprakaraṇa* (*Mdo*, CXII, 14) of Dharmottara;
—*Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi* (*Mdo*, CXII, 17) of the same;
—*Pratibandhasiddhi* of Śaṅkarānada (*Mdo*, CXII, 21).

The *Pramāṇaparīkṣā*, of Dharmottara, under its two forms (*bṛhal-langhu* and *laghu-*) (*Mdo*, CXII, 12 and 13) was translated by Blo-ldan śes-rab, the only translator mentioned, certainly guided by a *paṇḍita*, Bhavyarāja or Manoratha.

But Bhavyarāja and Blo-ldan śes-rab managed well a very much more considerable task. Not content with rearranging the interpretation of the *Pramāṇavarttikakārikā* (*Mdo*, XCV, 10) (121 p.), due to the cooperation of Subhūtiśrīśānti and Dge-ba'i blo-gros, they translated at Cakradhara the enormous *Pramāṇavarttikālaṅkāra* (*Mdo*, XCIX-C) (1450 p.) of Prajñākaragupta, at the request of the "uncle and nephew" [*Mahārājādhirājanirmāṇadevasamrāj*] (*Rgyal-po'i yaṅ rgyal-po chen-po 'phrul-gyi lha-bcan-po khu-dpon*).

Texts of discipline :

Correction of the *Śrāmaṇeraśikṣāpadasūtra* of KALYĀNAMITRA (*lo-cā-ba* Gzon-nu mchog) (*Mdo*, XC, 4) (31 p.). Translation of MAHAJĀNA.

68. The author of the *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* (*Mdo*, XIX, 1) (85 p.); of the *Madhyamakahṛdayavṛtti tarkajvāla* (*Mdo*, XIX, 2) (637 p.); of the *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa* (*Mdo*, XVIII, 9) (77 p.), translated by ATĪŚA in collaboration with CHUL-KHRIMS RGYAL-BA.

There also exists an author named BHAVYAKĪRTI who busied himself in particular with the cycle of Cakrasaṃvara and who must not be confused with the preceding authors (*Rg.*, VII, 1, XXXI, chap. 9-17, XXXIV, 1).

Palmyr Cordier supposes that those 'uncle and nephew' are Byaṅ-chub'od and Zi-ba'od, but the chronology seems to demand a different interpretation: that translation was carried out subsequently to the Fire-Dragon year, under the rule of Rce-lde. Les *dānapatī* are named unquestionably : Rce-lde and Zi-ba 'od, and the second colophon specifies that the translation was effected at the request of Dbaṅ-lde, who is doubtless Dbaṅ-(phyug)(Rce)-lde. It is possible that Rce-lde had ordered that translation, associating with the order the memory of one of his predecessors, without doubt Zi-ba'od[69] who had perhaps already conceived that project.

It is on the occasion of that last enterprise that Bhavyarāja receives the most honour giving titles : *dpal-ldan Kha-che'i rigs-pa-yi gcug-gi nor-bu skal-ldan rgyal-po* [*Śrīmat Kāśmīra-nyāyacūdāmaṇi Bhavyarāja*].

Mahāsumati of Kaśmīr is only qualified as *mahātarkika* : pupil of Parahita, he collaborated with Ñi-ma grags at the Ratnaguptavihāra. Together they translated the *Prasannapadā* of Candrakīrti (*Mdo*, XXIII, I) (551 p.), commentary in 27 *prakaraṇa* of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* of Nāgārjuna (*Mdo*, XVII, I) (449 *śloka*, 43 p.). The translation of this last text, which had been done by Jñānagarbha and Klu'i rgyal-mchan, was corrected on that occasion after comparison with the commentary. Nothing astonishing then that this Kaśmīri master-teacher should be considered as a specialist on *mādhyamika* philosophy, according to the tradition of Candrakīrti : the *Blue Annals* advise us that a teaching based exclusively on the *Prasannapadā* and the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* was transmitted by Ratnavajra to Parahita, who, in turn, confided it to Mahāsumati; it reached Tibet through the medium of Ñi-ma-grags.[70]

That Kaśmiri master, whose name is often shortened to Hasumati in Tibetan sources, must not be confused with the Nepalese Sumatikīrti, who did numerous interpretations in collaboration with Mar-pa (Saṃvara cycle), with Blo-ldan śes-rab, with Grags-'byor śes-rab, etc. That student of Nāropā was professor at Nālandā, where in particular he had for pupil the Tibetan Khyuṅ-po rnal-'byor.

69. See below, the geneological tree of the kings of Guge.
70. *B.A.*, p. 344.

Close to those master-teacher Manoratha appears paltry. He translated the *Apohasiddhi* of Śaṅkarānanda (*Mdo*, CXII, 20) at Groṅ-khyer dpe-med, in cooperation with Blo-ldan śes-rab (45 pages in Tibetan translation).

The Kaśmīris therefore continued during that end of the 11th century, to associate themselves with the study of logic and they were thus considered as authorities in that sphere. Another valuable pointer proves it. The translation of the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra* (*Mdo*, XCIX-C) of Prajñākaragupta, done by Bhavyarāja and Blo-ldan śes-rab, was "rehandled" by the Kaśmīri Kumāraśrī and by 'Phags-pa śes-rab. But that important revision was a collective task, accomplished at Tho-liṅ, at the *vihāra* of Dpal Dpe-med lhun-gyis grub-pa [Śrī Anupamanirābhogavihāra], with the help of paṇḍits arrived from Vikramaśīla, in the presence of masters (*ston-pa*) from Dbus, from Gcaṅ, from Ru-bzi, from Khams, from Mṅā'-ris and even from China, under the control of two Kaśmīris, Kumāraśrī and Sūnayaśri. We do not know what exact functions devolved on those two Kaśmīris in that learned assembly, those of presidents, or only those of general secretaries.

KAŚMĪRI TRANSLATORS OF THE RATNAGUPTA-VIHĀRA AT LHA-SA AND IN CHAN-SI

The modest translators who assisted Blo-ldan śes-rab and and Ñi-ma grags, being less wellknown, and rightly so, than Sajjana, Jñānaśrī or even than Parahita or Bhavyarāja, nevertheless deserve that one recall their career and their work. Kanakavarman, Tilakakalaśa and Jayānanda have a point in common : they were great travellers. The two first-mentioned with beautiful fidelity followed Ñi-ma grags to western Tibet, then to Lha-sa. One imagines the strength of the links which must have been created, between those men, by shared dangers and labour, amid the long solitude of the routes and of the texts.

Tilakakalaśa, in Tibetan Thig-le bum-pa, which is sometimes rendered as Bindukalaśa, collaborated with Ñi-ma grags and Blo-ldan śes-rab, and he devoted himself essentially to the *mādhyamika* philosophy, in the *prāsaṅgika* perspective. But he also translated an important number of hymns, fifteen in all, and he was doubtless himself the author of four of them,

classed in the *Bstan-'gyur* in the *Rgyud-'grel* at the "cycle of the *Kriyātantra*" :

—the *Vāgīśvarastotra* (*Rg.*, LXVIII, 14) (indication of author supplied by the Mongol index);
—the *Āryamañjuśrīstotra* (*Rg.*, LXVIII, 15) (indication of author furnished by the Mongol index);
—the *Āryavāgīśvarastotra* (*Rg.*, LXVIII, 16). (4 p.)
—the *Lokeśvarasiṃhanāda nāma stotra* (*Rg.*, LXVIII, 166) (2 p.).

This last hymn, as well perhaps as the three others of which Tilaka is the author, were translated with the assistance of the *lo-cā-ba* of Mal, Blo-gros grags. The other *stotra*, all attributed to Nāgārjuna, have been translated by Tilaka and Ñi-ma grags at Lha-sa, in the *vihāra* of Ra-mo-che. Here is the list of them :

—*Prajñāpāramitāstotra* (*Bstod*, 18);
—*Acintyastava* (*Bstod*, 19);
—*Stutyatītastava* (*Bstod*, 20);
—*Niruttarastava* (*Bstod*, 21);
—*Āryabhaṭṭārakamañjuśrīparamārthastuti* (*Bstod*, 22);
—*Āryamañjuśrībhaṭṭārakakaruṇāstotra* (*Bstod*, 23);
—*Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityastotra* (*Bstod*, 24);
—*Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityastotra* (*Bstod*, 25);
—*Dvādaśakāranayastotra* (*Bstod*, 26);
—*Vandanāstotra* (*Bstod*, 27);
—*Narakoddhāra* (*Bstod*, 28).

The whole of those hymns occupies 21 pages in Tibetan translation.

On the contrary it is in Kaśmīr, before undertaking the Lha-sa journey, more precisely at the Ratnaguptavihāra, that Tilakakalaśa and Ñi-ma grags translated the *Mādhyamakāvatāra* of Candrakīrti (*Mdo*, XXIII, 3) (39 p.) and the self-commentary in 3550 *śloka* (*Mdo.*, XXIII, 4) (294 p.). Tilaka and the *lo-cā-ba* of the Pa-chab equally rearranged the translation of the *Madhyamakāvatārakārikā* (*Mdo*, XXIII, 2) (39 p.), done by Kṛṣṇapāda and Chul-khrims rgyal-pa. To the collaboration of those

two translators is also due the Tibetan version of the *Śrīguhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikāviṃśavidhi* of Nāgabodhi (*Rg.*, XXXIII, 15) (16 p.), attached to the school of Nāgārjuna of the Guhyasamāja : that translation happily comes to remind us that interest in philosophical speculation and practice of the ritual were going forward well together.

Finally, Blo-lden śes-rab and Tilakakalaśa reviewed the interpretation of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* of Śāntideva (*Mdo*, XXXI, 2) (445 p.), done during the 9th century by Dānaśīla, Jinamitra and Ye-śes sde. But they did not forget the study of the irreality of the exterior world, and translated two texts attached to the "perfection of wisdom" in 8000 stanzas : the *Āryaprajñāpāramitāsaṃgrahakārikā* of Dignāga, better known under the name of *Aṣṭasāhasrikāpiṇḍārtha* (*Mdo*, XIV, 2) (6 p.) (Conze 5 cy 5)[71] and their commentary (*vṛtti* or *vivaraṇa*) in 540 *śloka* by Triratnadāsa (*Mdo*, XIV, 3) (52 p.) (Conze 5 cy 5-I).

Kanakavarman did not publish any work, at least none deemed worthy of being incorporated in the canon, but his life and his work of translator-interpreter, undertaken very early, since he collaborated with Rin-chen bzaṅ-po, are in every respect comparable to Tilakakalaśa's. With Rin-chen bzaṅ-po, he translated the *Śrīsarvadurgatipariśodhanapretahomavidhi* of Ānandagarbha (*Rg.*, LXIII, 5) (28 p.). He only translated one hymn, with the assistance of Ñi-ma grags, the *Sragdharāstotra* of Sarvajñamitra. Like Tilakakalaśa and doubtless with him, he went to central Tibet and, at Lha-sa, in the *vihāra* of Ra-mo-che he corrected, in the company of Ñi-ma grags, important translations : that of the *Prasannapadā*, due to the collaboration of Ñi-ma grags and Mahāsumati, and, comparing them with an original Sanskrit text coming from "the Eastern Aparānta", those of the *Madhyamakāvatāra* and of its *bhāṣya*, done by Tilakakalaśa and Ñi-ma grags, reckoning from a Sanskrit text from Kaśmīr, without doubt belonging to the Ratnaguptavihāra (*Mdo*, XXIII, 3 and 4). Kanakavarman also stayed in the Pu-raṅs, "on the slopes of the Ri-bo chen-po Spos-kyi ṅad ldaṅ-ba" [Gandhamādana mahāgiri], and it is

71. The Tibetan version of that text was edited and translated in English by G. TUCCI (*J.R.A.C.*, 1947, pp. 59-75).

there that he accomplished his most considerable task, always in the company of the *lo-cā-ba* of the Pa-chab. It is a matter of translation of a text of *Abhidharma* due to the teacher of Jinamitra and of Śīlendrabodhi, Pūrṇavardhana, student of Sthiramati : the commentary of the *Abhidharmakośa* entitled *Lakṣaṇānusāriṇī* (*Mdo*, LXVII-LXVIII) (1598 p.). The most much shorter work (56 p.) bearing the same title and incorporated in tome *thu* of the *Mdo-'grel* (LXX, 3) is doubtless only a fragment extracted from the former at a more recent date. Finally Kanakavarman ranks among the interpreters of logic, since in collaboration with Dad-pa'i śes-rab he did the translation of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of Dignāga (*Mdo*, XCV, 1) (25 p.) and of its *vṛtti* (*Mdo*, XCV, 3) (167 p.).

The other translations, less important, due to collaboration of Kanakavarman and of Ñi-ma grags, are the following :

—*Rājaparikathā ratnāvalī* (*Mdo*, XCIV, 3) (45 p.);
—*Pratiṣṭhāvidhisaṃkṣepa* of Śraddhākaravarman (*Rg.*, LXIII, 19) (8 p.);
—*Ratnasūkoṣa* of Nāgārjunagarbha (*Mdo*, XVII, 17) (2p.) text presented as *mādhyamika*.

With the same *lo-cā-ba*, Kanakavarman corrected the translation of the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* of Nāgārjuna (*Rg.*, XXXIII, 5) (10 p.), text of *Guhyasamāja* according to the teaching of Nāgārjuna.

The same translator collaborated with the *lo-cā-ca* Chos-'bar (1044-1089) in the interpretation of the *Cittaparīkṣā* of Āryaśila (*Mdo*, XXIX, 13) (2 p.).

Among the assistants of Ñi-ma grags, Jayānanda, "native of Dpe-med groṅ", whose name and career are constantly associated with those of Khu *lo-cā-ba* Mdo-sde'bar, is assuredly one of the youngest. Śar-ba-pa, famous master-teacher of the sect of the *Bka-'gdams-pa* who had the *Sūtrasamuccaya* Atīśa translated by Jayānanda, Ñi-ma grags, and Mdo-sde'bar, according to a book which would have belonged to Atīśa (*cf. Mdo*, XXXII, 1),[72] lived from 1070 to 1141. That important translation could have been done only in the 12th century at the *vihāra* of Ya-gad in the Pa-chab rom-po.

72. *B.A.*, p. 272.

According to Gzon-nu dpal, that Kaśmīri, a reincarnation of Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po, disciple of Kālacakrapāda Junior, and equally known as the Kha-che pan-chen, was none other than Dgon-pa-pa.[73] He occupied himself essentially with *mādhyamika* philosophy, in particular with the *Mādhyamakāvatāra* of Candrakīrti, of which he edited a *ṭīkā*, the *Arthaprakāśīkā* (*Mdo*, XXV) (885 p.). The interest taken at that epoch in the study of the *Mādhyamakāvatāra* in Kaśmīri monasteries found an echo very far from there : as has been seen, Ñi-ma grags, corrected at Lha-sa, in the company of Kanakavarman, the translation of the *Mādhyamakakārikā* and of their *bhāṣya* done at the Ratnaguptavihāra, and Jayānanda translated into Tibetan, in the company of Kun-dga' grags, the *ṭīkā* of which he was the author, at the *vihāra* of Khyad-par-mkhar-sku, in Chan-si, between the Hoang-ho and the Ou-t'ai-shan. Another work of the same author, the Tibetan translation of which has reached us, also deals with *mādhyamika* philosophy, but it is very much shorter : those are the twenty *Tarkamudgarakārikā* (*Mdo*, XXIV, 6) (3 p.),[74] a commentary on which was edited by Rma-bya Byaṅ-chub ye-śes,[75] student of Jayānanda and of Khu-ston and a great specialist on *mādhyamika* philosophy. The *Caturviṃśapaṭalavistaraṭīkā arthālokakarī nāma*, mentioned in *Rg*., LXXVI, 32-5, is not incorporated in the *Bstan-'gyur*.

Apart from his own *Mādhyamakāvatāraṭīkā* and the *Sūtrasamuccaya* of Atīśa (*Mdo*, XXXII, 1) (461 p.), Jayānanda only translated some texts without great importance, all attributed to Nāgārjuna, and linked one to the *Guhyasamāja* (*Rg*., XXXIII, 6) and the others to the theory of the *śūnyatā*. Those translations have been done with the cooperation possibly of Grags-'byor śes-rab, possibly of Mdo-sde 'bar, and a certain number among them, presented as corrections, have been prepared at Groṅ-khyer dpe-med by the *lo-cā-ba* Gzon-nu śes-rab.

73. See above, p. 223-224.
74. The Tibetan translation of those *kārikā* was done by Jayānanda with assistance of Mdo-sde'bar.
75. *B.A.*, p. 343.

Here is the list of those minor translations (the mention C., corrector, indicates the translations prepared by Gzon-nu śes-rab ; the names of the *lo-cā-ba* are abbreviated into Grags and Khu) :

—*Vaidalyasūtra* (*Mdo*, XVII, 3) (4 p.) (Grags);
—*Vigrahavyāvartanīkārikā* (*Mdo*, XVII, 5) (7 p.) (Khu);
—*Vaidalyaprakaraṇa* (*Mdo*, XVII, 8) (24 p.) (Khu);
—*Akṣaraśataka* (*Mdo*, XVII, 12) (3 lines) (C. Grags);
—*Akṣaraśatakavṛtti* (*Mdo*, XVII, 13) (16 p.) (C. Gargs);
—*Abudhabodhakaprakaraṇa* (*Mdo*, XVII, 16) (2 p.) (Gargs);
—*Bodhicittavivaraṇa* (*Rg.*, XXXIII, 6) (3 p.) (Khu);
—*Mahāyānaviṃśaka* (*Mdo*, XXXIII, 88) (2 p.) (Grags).

That last text, in an interpretation of Candrakumāra and Śā-kya-'od, is also classified in volume *ca* of the *Mdo-'grel* (XVII, 11).

The Kaśmiri Śrīratha was an approximative contemporary of Jayānanda, since he collaborated with Grags-'byor śes-rab in the translation of several texts attributed to Nāgārjuna :

—*Svapnacintāmaṇiparikathā* (*Mdo*, XXXIII, 92 and XCIV, 5) (4 p.);
—*Bhavasaṅkrāntiparikathā* (*Mdo*, XXXIII, 95 and XCIV, 7) (2 p.);
—*Dānaparikathā* (*Mdo*, XCIV, 6) (2 p.).

The *bhikṣu* Kumāraprajña, Kaśmīri (*Mdo*, XVII, 13) was, among others, whose names have not been kept for us, a modest assistant of Jayānanda : he is named as copyist at the same time as Jīvadhari, of the *Sūtrasamuccayaparikathā* (*Mdo*, XXXII, 1). He also translated we are told, the *Akṣaraśataka* and its *vṛtti* at Groṅ-khyer dpe-med; perhaps he only prepared the translations planned by Jayānanda. That Kumāraprajña should not be confused with the Tibetan Gzoṅ-nu śes-rab of which there will be mention later.

7

The centuries of decline

12th-14th Centuries

After that period of intense speculative activity and exchanges kept up between Kaśmīr and Tibet, Kaśmīri Buddhism seems to enter a supine phase; in my case, mentions of Kasmīr are rarer in the source documents. Moreover, the general situation was hardly favourable to meditation and study.

The reign of Harṣa, which had commenced so well through restoration of internal order and of the authority of Kaśmīr on the tributary States, to the great satisfaction of Kaśmīris weary of civil quarrels, finished in a manner sorrowful and sordid. The expenses of the sovereign, of which certain moreover resulted from a laudable desire to patronise culture, had exhausted the treasuries of the State. From that time, the taxes and sacrilegious extortions contributed to discontenting the people, who were moreover scandalised by the immoral behaviour of the king. Two pretenders, issues from a side branch, Uccala and Sussala, joined forces with the Kaśmīri squireens who were the *ḍāmara*; after some months of civil war, the king met his death in the course of a last combat against his adversaries.

Uccala reigned ten years (from 1101 to 1111) leaning on the people, against the *kāyastha* and his allies of previous day, the *ḍāmara*. Sussala himself started up against his brother and a revolt brought to an end the life of Uccala.

Sussala succeeded at last in occupying the throne after the very short reigns of Śaṅkharāja and of Salhaṇa; but the royal authority was too gravely compromised, and in his turn Sussala had to take up the strugle against the *ḍāmara*. One has the impression that the king ruled over the immediate environs of the capital and the main pivots of communication, while the landed proprietors, become great feudal lords, made the law in the remote districts. The people suffered therefrom, and it is beyond doubt that the conditions created by that political anarchy hardly lent themselves to an intense cultural life. On the other hand, that political feebleness of the Kaśmīri State offered very many dangers, at a time when Islam was encircling Kaśmīr from nearly all sides, although the poverty which was the consequence of it preserved it from dangerous concupiscences. A grandson of Harṣa, Bhikṣācara, who succeeded in occupying Sussala's throne for some months, did not even hesitate to appeal to a contingent of Turuṣka. The two years which followed were terrible years. The *ḍāmara* burned the temple of Cakradhara, close to which had worked so many Kaśmīri and Tibetan monks, and the monasteries were not spared. At Śrīnagar, to the horrors of fire and famine were added the rigours of a particularly cruel winter. In 1128, on Sussala's death, Kaśmīr, which had until then been spared invasion by the Mohammedans, was not less torn, exhausted, miserable.

Sussala's son, Jayasiṃha (1128-*ca* 1154), succeeded in restoring to it equilibrium and prosperity. It would be excessive to say that Jayasiṃha's reign was peaceful; on the contrary on several occasions that king had to fight against internal elements of trouble, as well as against external aggression, fomented moreover by Kaśmīri refugees. But finally, there were only minor struggles, which were aimed at safeguarding and consolidating as well as could be managed the internal order of the State. The king's policy, which consisted of setting in his different enemies against each other, succeeded as a whole, and the praise which Kalhaṇa[1] confers on him is not the mere flattery of a courtier. He knew how to pardon, and proclaimed a general amnesty, which greatly contributed to allaying

1. *R.T.*, VIII, 1377-1379.

the hates. He re-established Kaśmīr's relations with other Indian States and extended its influence beyond the narrow confines of the valley.[2] He profited from the restored peace and prosperity in order to repair some monuments and some foundations of public interest, which were doubtless in great need[3] thereof, and, during his reign, the greatest historian of India had the leisure to prepare and bring to a successful issue his vast undertaking.[4]

Jayasiṃha was, so it seems, Śivaite. He founded a temple to the *liṅga*, which however does not bear his name but that of Vijayeśa. But some personages of his entourage founded some *vihāra*, and the king personally endowed them. Thus he finished the Sullāvihāra[5] founded by Uccala in memory of his sister Sullā. Above all, the *vihāra* of his wife Ratnādevī 'constant object of the affection of her lord", was carried to the pinnacle of foundations.[6] The queen was then favourable to Buddhism, which does not mean that she was Buddhist : in fact, among other "pious establishment", she founded a Vaikuṇṭhamaṭha.[7]

Jayasiṃha lived still some years after the conclusion of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in 1149-1150. Henceforth, in order to understand Kaśmīri history, it is necessary to refer to Jonarāja who is far from having the qualities of his predecessor. Also the reigns of Paramānuka (*ca* 1154-1164), of Vantideva or Varttideva (*ca* 1871-1180), elected by the citizens, are very poorly known. Yet it seems that life in Kaśmīr at that particular time, if not prosperous, was at least peaceable. At the close of the

2. *R.T.*, VIII, 2452-2453.
3. Kalhaṇa, who declares him mad about "restoration", furnishes us at the same time with a Sanskrit equivalent of that term, dear to archaeologists : *jīrṇoddhṛti*.
4. It is strange to record that that the chronicler on that occasion uses, in order to exalt Jayasiṃha, a word of Buddhistic resonance, the word *bodhi*: "as if he possessed perfect enlightenment, he helped the enemy in distress just as sandalwood in burning causes delight to he who has burnt the forest" (*R.T.*, VIII, 2376). That passage gives the impression of being inspired by some *jātaka*. It, at least, proves that Kalhaṇa was impregnated with Buddhism.
5. *R*.T., VIII, 3318.
6. *R.T.*, VIII, 2402.
7. *R.T.*, VIII, 2433.

12th century, under Jassaka (*ca* 1180-1198), the *ḍāmara* reappear in the political life, and once again the path leads, if not towards civil war, at least towards unrest in the palace and fights of armed partisans. But that is the moment when Islam makes fresh and decisive progress in the conquest of India.

On the eve of those events, Kaśmīri Buddhism was far from having the same lustre as at the commencement of the century. If Kanakavarman, Tilakakalaśa and Jayānanda undertook far-off journeys, was it not partly to draw closer to centres of Buddhistic study more prosperous than was then the case in Kaśmīr ?

However, the effects of the impulsion given by Rce-lde have not yet ceased. Exchanges with western Tibet are still proceeding, and a Tibetan, more remarkable for his writings, the grandson of Rce-lde himself, Khri bkra-śis dbaṅ-phyug Nam-mkha'-bcan, comes to work in Kaśmīr where he spends seventeen years.[8]

The activity of the known master-teachers is linked almost without discontinuity : the collaborators of Ñi-ma grags, in particular Jayānanda, worked on right into the middle of the 12th century. Alaṅkāradeva was his junior, and Śākyaśrībhadra, born in 1127, certainly started his long career shortly after him.

ALAṄKĀRAKALAŚA

The Kaśmīri Alaṅkārakalaśa, who on several occasions collaborated with the Tibetan Chul-khrims 'byuṅ-gnas sbas-pa, is the *paṇḍita* whom the *Blue Annals* call Alaṅkara-(or Alaṅka) deva (pp. 1053-1054) and give as a descendant of the Kaśmīri grammarian Trilocana. He belongs to the middle of the 12th century, for Chul-khrims 'byuṅ-gnas, the *lo-cā-ba* of Steṅ, lived from 1107 to 1190, but it is a little probable that he is confused with the brother of Maṅkha who, under Jayasiṃha (1128-1149), occupied some important posts : *bṛhadgañjavara*;[9]

8. BU-STON, p. 216. See below, the geneological tree of the kings of Guge.
9. *R.T.*, VIII, 2423.

rājasthānīya;[10] *rājagṛhya*.[11] In effect Kalhaṇa presents this Alaṅkāra to us as a fervent Viṣṇuite : "He was a worshipper of Viṣṇu, as none before him, devote of Nṛsiṃha; he used to distribute gold, nourishment and garments, abstaining from all forms of violence, and he used to offer cows on the feast of Varāha".[12] As to Maṅkha, he describes his brother as a learned man essentially interested in grammar.[13]

The only piece of writing possible to attribute in a decided manner to Alaṅkārakalaśa is the *Śrīvajramālāmahāyogatantra-ṭīkā Gambhīrārthadīpikā* (*Rg.*, XXXII, 518 p.), which the author himself translated into Tibetan with the help of the *lo-cā-ba* of Steṅ. Cordier's catalogue attributes three other works to that writer :

—the *Mahāmāyā nāma pañjikā* (*Rg.*, XXIII, 19) (20 p.);
—the *Mahāmāyāsādhanamaṇḍalavidhi* (*Rg.*, XXIII, 38) (22 p.);
—the *Daśatattva* (*Rg.*, XL, 23) (50 p.).

The first two rise from the Mahāmāyā cycle. As to the *Daśatattva*, it is classed among the various texts attaching themselves to the teaching of Buddhajñāna.

Alaṅkārakalaśa did the most important of his interpretations in collaboration with Chul-khrims 'byuṅ-gnas. With Ñi-ma gras he only translated the *Kramāntarbhāvopadeśa nāma prakaraṇa* (*Rg*, XXXIII, 17) (4 p.). It is in India, where he was studying, that Alaṅkāra met the *lo-cā-ba* of Steṅ, and it is on the invitation of his Tibetan student, to whom he taught the Guhyasamāja ("the cycle of Nāgārjuna") with sufficient originality to make Gzon-nu dpal speak of the "method of Alaṅkāradeva", that he wended his way to Tibet They carried there some books, certain of which, marked with the name of Śīlākara, were still in existence in

10. *R.T.*, VIII, 2557.
11. *R.T.*, VIII, 2925.
12. *R.T.*, VIII, 2425.
13. Maṅkha gives his brother the name of Laṅkaka. As to our Kaśmīri translator, his name is once translated as though it was Alakakalaśa (*lcaṅ-lo*, "ringlet of hair", *Mdo*, XCII, 1), but it is the only mention of an Alakakalaśa.

the monastery of Nor some years ago.[14] The longest of the translations done by the *lo-cā-ba* of Steṅ and his teacher is a text of *Vinaya*, due to a mūlasarvāstivādin of the old Kaśmīri school, the *Vinayasūtravṛtti Abhidhānasvavyākhyāna nāma* of Guṇaprabha (*Mdo*, LXXXIII-LXXXIV) (1340 p.). Apart from the *Gambhīrārthadīpikā*, their other important translations are :

- the *Jātakamālā* of Haribhaṭa (*Mdo*, XCII, I) (468 p.);
- the *Bhagavatyāmnāyānusāriṇī nāma vyākhyāna* (*Mdo*, XV) (742 p.) of Jagaddalanivāsin, which is perhaps Rāmapāla (commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*, 5-cy 4, according to the codification of Edward Conze).[15]

If one believe the *Blue Annals* on this matter, Alaṅkāradeva also corrected, in the company of Steṅ-lo, the translation of the *vārttika* of the *Abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā* (done by Śāntibhadra and Śākya-'od), that of the *Jātakamālā* of Śura (by Vidyākarasiṃha and Mañjuśrīvarman), that of the *Kālacakramūlatantra* (by Somanātha and Śes-rab grags).

Finally, last but not least, Chul-khrims 'byuṅ-gnas brought back from a new journey in India a copy of the *Mahāvibhāṣā* : Alaṅkāra and he tackled together the task of translating that monument of thought. But death surprised Alaṅkāra when the two translators had finished about two thirds of their undertaking. No one later had the courage to take up the interrupted work, and the *Vibhāṣā* was never translated *in extenso* in Tibetan.

After the expedition of Mahmūd of Ghazni, the Islamised Turks remained implemented in the Pañjāb : henceforth the vicissitudes of the internal history of the Musulman dynasties must have had very serious repercussions on India.

At the end of the 12th century, while Kaśmīr was languishing under the rule of the paltry inheritors of Jayasiṃha, the decline of the Ghaznevids is precipitated by the luck of a

14. Information of the Rev. Dge-'dun-chos-'phel to ROERICH, who reports it on page 1053 of his translation of the *Blue Annals*.
15. Only one minor work was translated by those two collaborators : the *Ucchuṣmajambhalasādhana* (*Rg.*, LXXII, 39) (4 p.).

rival house, that of Ghor : in 1186, Lahore falls into the hands of Muizz-ud-dīn, and the last descendants of Subuktägin are going to die in prison. In the meantime the Rajputs, unconscious of the dangers, are quarrelling among themselves for futile motives, and, at the hour of invasion, Pṛthivīrāja of Ajmīr, symbol of Indian resistance, will be almost alone in opposing Muḥammad of Ghor. The government of Śrīnagar, at all events, does not bring him military aid analogous to that formerly furnished by Tuṅga to Trilocanapāla against Mahmūd the Ghaznevid. In 1198, Jagaddeva, fifth successor to Jayasiṃha, climbs on the throne and undertakes internal reforms which cause him to be chased by his ministers. The tidal wave which was breaking over India passed unnoticed in Kaśmīr, but a certain number of Kaśmīris, far from their native land, were present at tragic events which definitely mark the end of a period of Indian history and of the history of Buddhism. Tāranātha relates with some precision those turmoils, which, in his time, were still relatively recent, and of which the Tibetans had been informed by the refugees chased from their monasteries by Turkish troops. His recital merits being quoted in full :

> At Odantapurī and Vikramaśīla, at a certain moment the king installed a kind of fortress and therein placed men of war in order to ensure protection. A school of the Greater Vehicule was founded at Vajrāsana and during the summer retreat nearly 10,000 *saindhava-śrāvaka* were assembled there. As to the other universities, for the most part they were nearing their decline. At Vikramaśīla and at Odantapurī, one could count on an affluence equal to that of the time of Abhayākara. After the death of king Rāthika, when Lavasena exercised royal power, some years flowed by in peace, but soon appeared in the Antarvedi, between the Gaṅgā and Yamunā, the Turkish King Moon (Zla-ba).[16] And, through the medium of various *bhikṣu* (*sic* Schiefner), who were envoys of the king, he joined some other little Turkish kings who were living in Bengal and in other regions. He conquered the Magadha entirely, massacred at Odantapurī numerous religious people and destroyed that university as well as that of Vikramaśīla. On the site of the Odantavihāra was erected a citadel of Tājikas.[17]

16. Aibek (in Turkish "Lord Moon") is, it is known, the name of Qutb-ud-dīn, lieutenant of Muḥammad and governor of Delhi (*See* RANKINY, *Al-Badāoni*, I, p. 77, n. 2).
17. *T.N.*, pp. 254-255.

The paṇḍits and students of the Magadhian universities after having regrouped themselves at Jagaddala, were dispersed. Already, two years earlier, following a "prediction", certain had exiled themselves. Some fled towards the North, to Tibet and Nepal, others tried to find refuge in Southern India, others again, whom Tāranātha numbers as the most important, made their way to the far East, to Burma and Cambodia :[18] several among those emigrants, were doubtless Kaśmīris. Finally, the adepts of Gorakṣa, were converted to Śivaism, which, due to contaminations between the two religions, required hardly more than an adhesion of principle, without great modification either of rites or of beliefs.

This passage brings us a multitude of information of the greatest importance. It assuredly throws light on certain characteristics of the religious history of Jayavarman VII in the second part of his reign.[19] It does not omit confirming what is easily guessed : the conversion to Śivaism, or rather the absorption by Śivaism of the last Buddhist elements. Finally, he supplies perhaps an excuse for the destructive fury of the Turkish horsemen, by mentioning the installation of Indian garrisons inside the monasteries.

When it was necessary to confront circumstances of an extreme gravity, the last "rector" of Vikramaśīla was an old man hailing from Kaśmīr, Śākyaśrībhadra. He was born in

18. *T.N.*, p. 255.

19. On the one hand, we allude to the multiplication of the small kiosks already existing, made so conspicuous by Philippe Stern, thanks to his technique of the study of decoration, and, on the other hand, to the excess of symbolism which intrigues and stimulates the sagacity of the research workers. But it is fitting to suppose that the exodus of the paṇḍits had preceded by some years the raid of Muḥammad ibn-Bakhtyār (in 1197 ?). That is moreover what Tāranātha suggests, in invoking a "prediction" (*cf.* the passage summarised above). More simply, the rapid progress of the Ghourids would alarm the Indian monks very much.

Let us recall the chronology : Lahore had fallen into the hands of Muḥammad in 1186; five years later, in 1191, the Rajput coalition was affronting victoriously at Tarain, at the gates of gangetic India, the immense army of the Ghourid and, one year later, it was crushed on the very sites of its recent victory. Kanauj and Banaras fell in 1193. But, it is around 1191 that Ph. Stern situates the turning point of the architectural career of Jayavarman VII.

1127, in the year 1692 Nirvāṇa, according to the special computation of the Kālacakra, and he had gone to Vikramaśīla where he had been the student of Śubhākara,[20] then he had become guardian of the gate. He was at that time considered as one of the two great savants of the Indian Buddhist world, the other being Ratnarakṣita : "The great *ācārya* Ratnarakṣita had attained a level of knowledge equal to that of Śākyaśrī, above all in Pāramitāyāna, and in the sciences; in logic Śākyaśrī must have been more learned, but Ratnarakṣita was more expert in the *mantra*; in magic power they would have been equal".[21]

After the raid of Muḥammad ibn-Bakhtyār, about 1197, Śākyaśrībhadra succeeded in getting back with the other monks to Jagaddala where he lived three years. After the conquest of Bengal, aged 73 years, he undertook the journey to Tibet.[22] His career was not finished, very far from it. In fact he lived eighteen years in Tibet and travelled about in order to visit some monasteries, especially in 1208,[23] and he worked intensively in the company of the *lo-cā-ba* of Khro-phu, Byams-pa'i dpal (born in 1172) and of the *lo-cā-ba* of Chag, Dgra-bcom, abbot of Rte'u-ra, who was the first Chos-rje dpal [*dharmasvāmiśrī*]. Śākyaśrī in fact had in Tibet, where he was often simply named the Kha-che pan-chen, "the great Paṇḍit from Kaśmīr", a considerable disciplinary importance in introducing a third tradition, which was referred to by the great reformer Coṅ-kha-pa, and he exercised practically himself the functions of superior of the monastery of Sa-skya [Pāṇḍubhūmi]. In particular he had as students, the *dharmasvāmin* (*chos-rje*) Kun-dga 'rgyal-mchan, better known by the surname of Sa-skya pan-chen, "the great Paṇḍit of

20. *Rg.*, LXVI, 5.
21. *T.N.*, p. 253.
22. There exists an uncertainty of some years about the chronology of these events : according to the *B.A.*, Śākyaśrī would have left for Tibet in his 78th year in 1204; that slight divergence is effaced if it is admitted that 1204 is the date of the arrival in Tibet of the Kha-che pan-chen. In any case, the assertion according to which Śākyaśrī would have come to Tibet in his 65th year is explicitly repudiated by Gzon-nu dpal.
23. *B.A.*, p. 306.

Sa-skya" (1182-1251),[24] Rdo-rje dpal, Byaṅ-chub dpal, Jo-'bar (1196-1231),[25] and the *lo-cā-ba* of Chag, Chos-rje dpal [Dharmasvāmīśrī] (1197-1264)[26], "the most learned of the translators after the *lo-cā-ba* Rin-chen bzaṅ-po",[27] who, going on pilgrimage to the holy places, found Vajrāsana deserted, all having fled before the *gar-log* (the Karluks, that is to say, the Turks), and, at Nālandā, he brought away on his shoulders his old master Rāhulaśrībhadra aged 89 years, rather than abandon him.[28]

At the end of his life, doubtless impelled by nostalgia for his native province, Śākyaśrī came back to Kaśmīr,[29] where he had time to accomplish an important task, before dying aged 98, in 1225.[30] The author of the *Blue Annals* advises us that Kaśmīri Buddhism was then in full decline :[31] "Although the doctrine was being spread in Kaśmīr, the monks were very few. The master of the Law (that is to say, Śākyaśrī) increased the number of the monks, and established the correct path of the method of the *tantra* and of the *sūtra*. The king, who had become a heretic, was re-established in the doctrine, the *Mahāpaṇḍita* restored the *vihāra* and the ruined statues". It is only a pity that the chronicler Jonarāja does not supply us with any indication susceptible of confirming that revival of Kaśmīri Buddhism.

24. *B.A.*, pp. 34, 216, 232, 306, 307.
25. *B.A.*, p. 195.
26. P. CORDIER gives, as the dates of Dgra-bcom, 1153-1216 (*Cat.*, III, p. 331), but according to the *B.A.*, that *lo-cā-ba* was born in the year of the fire-serpent, which can only be 1197.
27. *B.A.*, p. 1058.
28. His biography (*Rnam-thar*) has been translated by G. ROERICH.
29. That journey was accomplished, as befitted such a high personage, in great pomp : paṇḍits and attendants escorted the master, who his faithful assistant Khro-pu accompanied as far as Mṅa-ris (*B.A.*, p. 710).
30. According to the author of the *B.A.*, the great paṇḍit died on a Saturday, the 5th day of the Aquarius. The 25 January 1225 was in fact a Saturday; that verification shows the precision and the exactitude of the chronology transmitted by the school of Sa-skya.
31. However one dates from the end of the 12th century (1197) an inscription found at Arigom, about 25 kilometers to the southwest of Śrīnagar, which begins with an evocation to Avalokiteśvara (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 300 and following).

Śākyaśrībhadra's name appears frequently in the catalogues, but his textual work is very much less considerable than appears from reading a list of his writings. It is the radiation and authority of his person which make his importance. He is only author of minor texts, the longest of which does not occupy more than seven pages in Tibetan translation. He interested himself in the Kālacakra, in the Nāmasaṃgīti, in the cult of Tārā : he is the last Indian in transmission of the ritual of the Tārā, inaugurated by another Kaśmīri, Ravigupta, the last also in transmisson of the *Pramāṇavārtika*, after an enigmatic Waṃ-ku *paṇḍita*.[32]

32. *B.A.*, p. 346. Here is the list of the work of ŚĀKYAŚRĪBHADRA :

1. Cycle of the Kālacakra :
   Śrīkālacakragaṇanopadeśa (*Rg*., IV, 30) (2 p.);
   Śrīkālacakragaṇanopadeśa (*Rg*., IV, 31) (2 p.);
   Pañcagrahapratigaṇanopadeśa (*Rg*., IV, 32) (6 p.);
   Vajrapadagarbhasaṃgraha pañjikā (*Rg*., V, 4) (13 p.);
   The *Vajrapadagarbhasaṃgraha* (*Rg*., V, 3) (7 p.) is attributed by the editor of Sde-dge to Śākyaśrī, but the xylogram of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, attributes it to Sarvajña (collected by the great Paṇḍit of Kaśmīr).
2. Cycle of the Tārā :
   Āryatārābhaṭṭārikopadeśāśrayāsannamaraṇāmnāya (*Rg*., XXVI, 39) (1 p.);
   Āryatārāsādhana (*Rg*., XXVI, 42) (1 p.) and (*Rg*., LXXI, 395) (2 p.).
3. Cycle of Avalokiteśvara :
   Siṃhanādarakṣācakra (5) (*Rg*., LXVIII, 167) (1 p.);
   Saṃkṣiptāmoghapāśasādhana (*Rg*., LXVIII, 168) (1 p.);
   Amoghapāśabalividhi (*Rg*., LXVIII, 169) (1 p.);
   Poṣadhakaraṇīya (*Rg*., LXVIII, 170) (1 p.);
   Āryāmoghapāśapoṣadhavidhyāmnāya (*Rg*., LXVIII, 171) (2 p.).
4. Cycle of the Utpādanakrama :
   Viśuddhadarśanacaryopadeśa (*Rg*., XLVIII, 124) (4 lines).
5. Cycle of Nāmasaṃgiti :
   Nāmasamgītivacanopadeśa (*Rg*., LXI, 27) (1 p.).
6. Cycle of Mañjuśrī :
   Mañjuśrīcalacakra (*Rg*., LXVIII, 13) (1 p.).
7. Cycle of Maitreya :
   Āryamaitreyasādhana (*Rg*., LXXI, 344) (1 p.).
8. Cycle of Jambhala :
   Āryakṛṣṇajambhalasādhana (*Rg*., LXVII, 43) (6 p.).

Contd.

Śākyāśrī did the majority of his translation with the assistance of Byams pa'i dpal [Maitrīśrī], of Gnubs, more often called Khro-phulo, who was about thirty years old at the time of the arrival in Tibet of the Kha-che pan-chen, but he also collaborated with the Paṇḍit of Sa-skya,[33] Chos-kyi-bzaṅ-po [Dharmabhadra] and Dgra-bcom. In collaboration with Chos-kyi bzaṅ-po, Śākyaśrī translated into Tibetan the *Vajrapadasārasaṃgrahapañjikā* (*Rg.*, XVII, 2) (200 p.) of Nāropā, which is a text linked to the Hevajratantra, and with the same *lo-cā-ba* he corrected the translation, made by Buddhakīrti, of another text of Hevajratantra, the *Śrīsaṃpuṭatantrarājaṭīkā āmnāyamañjarī nāma* (*Rg.*, XIX) (713 p.) of Abhayākaragupta. With the great Paṇḍit of Sa-skya, he corrected the translation of the *Pramaṇavārttikākārıkā* of Dharmakīrti (*Mdo*, XCV, 10) (120 p.), a translation done by Subhūtiśrīśānti and already re-arranged by Bhavyarāja. He also translated with Kun-dga' rgyal-mchan the *Yuganaddha-prakāśa nāma śekaprakriyā*, of Rāhulaśrīmitra (*Rg.*, XXXIII, 22) (36 p.) which arises from the Guhyasamāja. Another translation relatively extensive is attributed to him, that of the *Śrīmañjuvajrādikramābhisamayasamuccaya niśpannayogā-vali nāma* of Abhayākaragupta (*Rg.*, LXXXIV, 11) (148 p); that last task would have been done with Dānaśīla, to whom the index attributes all the merit for the translation.

The other translations of Śākyaśrī are those of minor works, among them it is only necessary to point out some

9. Texts for daily religious practices :
Maṇḍalavidhi (*Rg.*, LXXII, 60) (1 p.).
10. Texts concerning the conduct of the Bodhisattva :
Saptāṅgasaddharmacaryāvatāra (*Mdo*, XXXII, 14) (1 p.);
Bodhisattvamārgakramasaṃgraha (*Mdo*, XXXII, 15) (4 p.);
Mahāyānopadeśagāthā (*Mdo*, XXXII, 20) (7 p.).
11. Finally, a hymn :
Kālapūjāmahācatuṣkakārikā (*Bstod*, 62) (1 p.).

33. Kun-dga' rgyal-mchan dpal bzaṅ-po (*Rg.*, XXXIII, 22, and XLVIII, 151) is only perhaps the one called Ti-śrī, who lived from 1310 to 1358 (*B.A.*, p. 308) : it then refers to Kun-dga' rgyal-mchan, the great Paṇḍit of Sa-skya.

texts consecrated to the cult of the Tārā,[34] but he also collaborated himself in the Tibetan version of the majority of his writings ; only the *Āryatārāsādhana* has been translated by Vibhūticandra, and it is possible to think that, in cases where the translators are not mentioned, it involves the great Paṇḍit of Kaśmīr himself and one of his usual collaborators.[35] On the whole, nothing permits to suppose that the list of the

34. Cycle of the Tārā :
Devītārākuvākyādhyeṣaṇa nāma stotra of SARVAJÑAMITRA (*Rg*., XXVI, 13) (1 p.);
Bhagavatītārādevyekaviṃśatistotropāyikā of NI-MA SBASPAHI SHABS (*Rg*., XXVI, 6) (22 p.);
Tārāsādhanopadeśakrama of RAVIGUPTA (*Rg*., XXVI, 5) (2 p.);
Āryatārāsādhana of SARVAJÑAMITRA (*Rg*., XXVI, 40) (1 p.).
All those translations have been done in collaboration with BYAMS-PA'I DPAL.
Various :
Gaṇacakravidhi of BHADRADATTA (*Rg*., XLVIII, 151) (3 p.), *lo*. Kun-dga'rgyal-mchan;
Śrīsitatārāsādhana of VĀGĪŚVARAKĪRTI (*Rg*., LXXI, 380) (2p.). *lo*. Byams-pa'i dpal;
Āryakṛṣṇocchuṣmajambhalasādhana of VASUDA (*Rg*., LXXII, 42) (5 p.), *lo*. Byams-pa'i dpal;
Bodhipaddhati nāma of ABHAYĀKARAGUPTA (*Rg*., LXXII, 59) (18 p.), *lo*. Dgra-bcom;
Mañjuśrībhaṭṭārakaprajñācakrasādhana of CANDRĀKARA-GUPTA (*Rg*., LXVIII, 12) (2 p.), *lo*. Byams-pa'i dpal;
Āryamañjuśrīstotra of MATI (*Rg*., LXXXII, 4) (2 p.), *lo*. Byams-pa'i dpal;
Vajrayoginīsādhana attributed to VAJRAḌĀKINĪ (*Rg*., LXXXVI, 42), *lo*. Rab-mchog dpal-bzaṅ-po, (1 p.);
Bodhisattvajātakadharmagaṇḍī of ŚŪRA (*Mdo*, XCIV, 2) (8 p.), *lo*. Byams-pa'i dpal;
Bodhisattvasaṃvaragrahaṇavidhi of ABHAYĀKARAGUPTA (*Mdo*, XXXII, 8) (6 p), *lo*. Dgra-bcom;
Bodhisattvagocarapariśuddhisūtrārthasaṃgraha of RĀHULABHA-DRA (*Mdo*, XXXII, 3) (4 p.), *lo*. Byams-pa'i dpal.
Correction of translation of the *Pramāṇavārttikakārikā* (*Mdo*, XCV, 10) (120 p.), *lo*. Kun-dga' rgyal-mchan dpal bzaṅ-po.

35. His own writings translated with the collaboration of the *lo-cā-ba* of Khro-phu are :
Rg., XXVI, 39;
Rg., XLVIII, 124;
Rg., LXXI, 344;
Rg., LXXII, 43;
Rg., LXXII, 60;
Mdo, XXXII, 14;

Contd.

works of Śākyaśrī is complete : the only ones which have been saved from oblivion are those which he himself took the trouble to transmit to his Tibetan pupils. As much can be said about the whole of Indian Buddhism at the end of its history, of the task accomplished by the last paṇḍits of Vikramaśīla, of Nālandā and of Jagaddala their survives only what the Tibetans have incorporated in their textual inheritance.

Mahāpaṇḍita Buddhaśrīmitra or-bhadra, or-jñāna[36] was according to Tāranātha,[37] of Nepalese origin. However, the Tibetan translations present him regularly as Kaśmīri[38] and confer on him the titles of *dharmasvāmin bodhisattva paramapaṇḍita sarvagurubhūta* (*Mdo*, IX, I). That learned Buddhist, about whom Tāranātha only tells us some legendary outlines without great interest, after having fled from Magadha, settled in Nepal, where for student he had Byams pa'i dpal, who later invited him to go to Tibet : there he worked in the same places as Śākyaśrī and with the same colleagues.[39]

He is author[40] of the *Abhisamayālaṃkārabhagavatīprajñapārimitopadeśaśāstravṛtti prajñāpradīpāvali nāma* (*Mdo*, IX, I) (174 p.) and of the *Jinamārgāvatāra* (*Mdo*, XXXII, 2) (80 p.). He also edited a short tantric text connected with

Rg., LXXII, 60; *Mdo*, XXXII, 20.
Bstod., 62;
Those which he translated with RAB-MCHOG DPAL BZAṄ-PO are :
Rg., LXVIII, 167; *Rg.*, LXVIII, 170;
Rg., LXVIII, 168; *Rg.*, LXVIII, 171.
Rg., LXVIII, 169;
Those he translated with the grand Paṇḍit of Sa-skya :
Rg., V, 3; *Rg.*, V, 4.
Those for which the translators are not mentioned are :
Rg., IV, 30; *Rg.*, XXVI, 42;
Rg., IV, 31; *Rg.*, LXI, 27;
Rg., IV, 32; *Rg.*, LXVIII, 13.

36. Not to be confused with Buddhaśrījñāna, pupil of Haribhadra, famous teacher, author of numerous works certain of which have been translated by YE-ŚES-SDE or DPAL-BRCEGS and their assistants : the *Prajñāpāramitāsaṃcayagāthāpañjikā*, etc.
37. *T.N.*, p. 253.
38. *Rg.*, IV, 9 : Rg., XLIV, 37.
39. *B.A.*, p. 709; BU-STON, 222.
40. Conze A.A. Cy 9.

the *Ekajaṭā* cycle, the *Śrībhagavadekajaṭāstotra* (*Rg*., XLIV, 37) (5 p.).

The most important interpretations owed to him are those of his own writings, done in collaboration with Byams-pa'i dpal,[41] or, for the *Jinamārgāvatāra* with the *lo-cā-ba* of Chag.

Another Kaśmīri collaborator of Byams-pa'i dpal is Sugataśrī,[42] teacher of another wellknown Tibetan of the epoch, Byaṅ-chub dge-mjes (born in 1084) and author, according to the *Bstan- 'gyur* index of a missing *stotra*, the *Mahātmakīrtidhvajastotra* (*Bstod*, 60), which he would have translated into Tibetan in cooperation with Kun-dga' rgyal-mchan. With the *lo-cā-ba* of Khro-phu, he only translated the *Svapnatāro-*

41. Here are the other translations due to collaboration of BUDDHAŚRĪJÑĀNA and BYAMS-PA'I DPAL :
 1. Cycle of Kālacakra :
 Śrīkālacakrasahajasādhana of KĀLAPĀDA (*Rg*., IV, 9) (2 p.).
 2. Cycle of Śaṃbara :
 Krodhavārāhīvajrayoginīsādhana of ŚRĪDHARA (*Rg*., XIV, 67) (2 p.);
 Correction of the *Śrīcakrasamvarasādhanaratnadīpa* of MAITRĪPĀDA (*Rg*., XIII, 34) (12 p.) in collaboration with RIN-CHEN GRAGS.
 3. Cycle of Hevajra :
 Vajratārāsādhana (*Rg*., XXII, 40) (5 p.) (according to the Mongol index);
 Śrīvajratārāsādhana of ŚUBHANĀTHA (*Rg*., XXII, 41) (3 p.);
 Buddhaśrījñāna collaborated with Śākyaśrībhadra in the translation of *Vajratārāsādhana* by ŚRĪ RATNĀKARAŚĀNTIPĀDA (*Rg*., XXII, 38) (12 p.).
 4. Cycle of Guhyasamāja :
 Śrīsahajaguhyasamājasādhana of VAJRALĪLA (*Rg*., XLI, 10)(1 p.).
 5. Cycle of the Utpādanakrama :
 Sugataśāsanaratnavohittha of ŚRĪ NIṢKALAÑKA (*Rg*., XLVIII, 122) (8 p.);
 Śrībandhavimuktiśāstra of ŚRĪ NIṢKALAÑKA (*Rg*., XLVIII, 123).
 6. Various :
 Āryamaitreyasādhana of ASAṄGA (*Rg*., LXXI, 345) (1 p.);
 Śrīvajrasarasvatīdevyupāyikā of CANDRAKUMĀRA (*Rg*., LXXI, 398) (5 p.);
 Āryajambhalajalendraviśesastotra nāma of VASUDHĀRAŚRĪPĀDA (*Rg*., LXXII, 44) (1 p.).

42. *B.A.*, p. 317.

pāyikā of Candramitra (*Rg.*, XXVI, 38) (3 p.). But with the *lo-cā-ba* Dharmakīrti and Rdo-rje rgyal-mchan, he made, at the *vihāra* of Myaṅ-ro bkra-śis, the version of a text which the index attaches, in spite of its title, to the Kālacakra : the *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītivṛtti amṛtābindupratyāloka nāma* (*Rg.*, V, 9) (61 p.).

Sarvajñāśrīrakṣita (Thams-cad mkhyen dpal bsruṅ-ba) of Kaśmīr, who worked at Sa-skya perhaps during the same epoch, remains of uncertain datation. He translated the *Nyāyapraveśa nāma pramāṇaprakaraṇa* (*Mdo*, XCV, 7) (8 p.) in collaboration with Grags-pa rgyal-mchan dpal bzaṅ-po, that is to say, probably the fifth descendant of Sa-skya (1147-1216) according to P. Cordier.

Another Kaśmīri is discovered again in the 13th century in China, at "Coṅ-du'i mkhaṅ"; Tathāgatabhadra, of Kaśmīr, translated there the *Aṣṭabhavatrānatārāsādhana* (*Rg.*, LXXI, 379) (6 p.), work of Sarvajñamitra, with the help of 'Phags-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mchan dpal bzaṅ-po (1234-1280), of the monastery of Sa-skya.

THE DECLINE

13th and 14th Centuries

What was the political and religious situation in Kaśmīr at the moment when Śākyaśrībhadra came back to live there the last years of his long career ?

At the opening of the 13th century, doubtless a few years before his return, the king Jagaddeva, named by the chronicler Jagadeva or even Jagadva, is chased from Kaśmīr by a coalition of *kāyastha*. He succeeded in reconquering his throne only with the help of a faithful minister, who bears a name indubitably Buddhist, that of Guṇākararāhula. That fragile pointer confirms the persistence of Buddhism in Kaśmīr in that commencement of the 13th century, although, to believe the *Blue Annals* on the subject, it be then very forsaken by the people.

Yet, at the same epoch, the Kaśmīri Buddhists were exercising, so it seems, a certain influence at the court of the Mongolian sovereigns. "As early as 1251-1252, Mongka had nominated close to his person a "Master of the kingdom", that is to say the chief responsible for all the Buddhist

communities of the Empire; he was a native of Kaśmīr and was named Na-mo" (Louis Hambis).[43]

The 13th century is marked by fights between the great landed proprietors and royal authority, struggles in which participated, very certainly, the brahmins. The latter appear under a name which seems new in its application to a social group, the *bhaṭṭa* : the religious authority, with all the prestige which accompanies it even on the political plane, had passed into the hands of the Śivaits.

Furthermore it is a conspiracy of brahmins which puts an end to the reign and to the life of Rājadeva, son of Jagaddeva. His successor Rāmadeva was doubtless one of the least weak rulers of that final phase of the history of independent Kaśmīr. Attention is called afresh under his rule to some foundations, but none is Buddhist. After the death of his adopted son, in 1286, there is once more anarchy, but this time, Musulman infiltration, so long delayed, shows itself : the king is assassinated by a Turuṣka named Kajjala and, following that event, during several years Kaśmīr is going to be divided into two kingdoms, until Siṃhadeva re-establishes, a last time, over the whole of the valley, a monarchy of traditional Hindu type. He also financed numerous foundations, but died in 1301. In 1313, during the reign of Sahadeva (or Suhadeva), brother and successor of Siṃhadeva, a Musulman immigrant named Sahamera, a sort of intelligent adventurer, cunning and dangerous, places himself in the service of the king of Kaśmīr : new and fatal indication of Musulman infiltration. Kaśmīr is then invaded by a composite army, wherein according to Jonarāja, are mixed some *Mleccha*, some Turuṣka and some Tājika, under the command of a certain Duluca. Whence came that invasion? Perhaps from Afghanistan, if it is necessary to believe the *Ain-i-Akbari* on the subject, since, according to Abul-fadl, Delju, that is to say Duluca, was general of the king of Kandahar. If one is forced to replace those events in the current of contemporary Asiatic history, it is more than probable that it is a matter of a Mongol contingent or a group in the pay of the Mongols. In fact, according to Marco Polo

43. *Marco Polo, la description du monde*...avec introduction et notes, by L. HAMBIS, Paris, 1955, p. 384.

(chap. XXXVI), Négodar [Nègudèr], great grandson of Gengis Khan, with 10,000 armed man crossed the Badascian [Badakhshan], the Pasciai [Uḍḍiyāna] and the Chesimur, "and there he lost many of his men and beasts because the tracks were narrow and bad", but from Kaśmīr he would have continued towards India. As Jonarāja only mentions an invasion at that epoch, it is possible to think that "Dalju" was a general of Nègudèr. Be that as it may, the passage of that army, the effectives of which the chronicler estimates at 60,000 men, was for Kaśmīr a real devastation, assuaged neither by the taxes proposed by Suhadeva and pocketed by Duluca, nor, alas, by the fasts of the Brahmins. When the cold, that great ally of the Kaśmīris, made the enemy flee, the Musulmans carried off not only the riches that Kaśmīr could still be sheltering, but above all the women judged worthy of the harems and the men whose resistance led to conjecture that they would be appreciated on the slave market. "Kaśmīr became almost chaotic, a vast territory with few men, little food and lots of grass".[44]

The Mohamedans had prepared the way for the Tibetans. A little after their departure intervened a chief *Bhauṭṭa*, whose name, such as it appears under the sanskritised form Riñcana, (which Jonarāja uses) easily allows one to guess the original Tibetan Rin-chen. Generally that invader of Kaśmīr around 1320 is identified with the Rin-chen of the *Chronicles of Ladakh*, and that identification is quite probable. Be that as it may, that Tibetan was not a Buddhist; he seems to have adopted Śivaism, perhaps for political reasons, but he came to terms with the Mohammedans and, in order to govern, relied on Sahamera who had become during so many vicissitudes, the premier servant of the Kaśmīri kingdom. Perhaps Rin-chen was hoping to found a new dynasty. On his death Sahamera decided otherwise, and, instead of crowning the son of the Tibetan and of his Kaśmīri wife Koṭadevī, he preferred to appeal to a descendant of a Kaśmīri dynasty, Udayanadeva, who married the widow of his predecessor, while continuing personally to exercise authority. Shortly after the death of Udayanadeva, following troubles attended with bloodshed,

44. 2nd *R.T.*, 152-155.

Koṭadevī perished and Sahamera founded the first Musulman dynasty of Kaśmīr under the name of Sams-ud-Dīn.[45]

But that "Sun of Religion", if he favoured the Mohammedans and those who agreed to become Mohammedan, showed nevertheless a wide tolerance towards his subjects of other religions. This is the epoch when the poetess Lallā sings in Kaśmīri the mystic *trika*. It is also the epoch of the last great names of Kaśmīri Buddhism.

Is it to the preaching of Śākyaśrībhadra at the beginning of the 13th century that Kaśmīri Buddhism owes a revival of fertility which lasted right into the heart of the 14th century? One would willingly believe it, although very badly informed about the history of that period. Be that as it may, during an epoch when Islam submerged nearly the whole of India, and when the Hindu dynasties of Śrīnagar are going to collapse under the combined pressure of Islam and of Tibetan expansion, some Kaśmīris are still working in Tibet for the cause of the Law and are collaborating with the great *lo-cā-ba* of Sa-skya, Oṅ-po, Yar-kluṅs-lo, Blo-gros brtan-po and the master-teacher of Bu himself (1290-1394).

Gzon-nu śes-rab, the *lo-cā-ba* of Oṅ (not to be confused with Gzon-nu śes-rab [Kumāraprajña] the collaborator of Jayānanda) worked with Jñānaguhya of Kaśmīr (*Rg*., XLVII, 54). Together they translated a certain number of minor works attributed, when the author is mentioned, to Kamalaśrī, and which occupy, in Tibetan translation, a total of twelve pages. That is little, but during the same epoch others accomplished a task more worthy of interest, as much for importance as for extent.

Vimalaśrībhadra, Kaśmīri (*Rg*., XVI, 2) is the author of a *Pañcāśikāṭippaṇī* (*Rg*., XLIV, 43) (34 p.). Above all he worked with Blo-gros brtan-pa [Sthiramati] of Śoṅ "the Prince of Interpreters" (*Skad-gñis smra-ba'i dbaṅ-po*),[46] with whom he translated the important *ṭīkā* of the *Hevajratantra*, entitled

45. The chronicle tells us a veritable romance which doubtless reflects some real facts : Koṭadevī at first would have kept secret the death of Udayanadeva, then would have tried to resign personally, leaning on the Lavanya; after having vanquished the Lavanya, Sahamera would have proposed marriage to Koṭadevī, but the queen would have committed suicide on entering the bridal bedroom.

46. *Mdo*, CXVII, 5.

Suviśadasampuṭa, attributed to Ṭaṅkadāsa (*Rg.*, XVI, 2) (557 p.).

Here are the titles of the other writings of Vimalaśrībhadra, very short :

—*Kulalokeśvarabhāvanākrama* (*Rg.*, XLIV, 44) (3 p);
—*Anujñaptikriyākrama* (*Rg.*, XLIV, 45) (1 p.);
—*Paramagurupuṇyaśrīnāmastotra* (*Rg.*, LXXII, 53) (1 p.).

The two first of those manuscripts were translated by the author and Blo-gros brtan-pa. The translation of the *Pañcāśikāṭippaṇī* is due to the collaboration of the author and of the *lo-cā-ba* of Yar-kluṅs.[47]

The *lo-cā-ba* of Yar-kluṅs, Grags-pa rgyal-mchan, translator of Kālacakra[48] is a pupil of Śes-rab seṅ-ge (1251-1315), himself "son" of Rnam-rgyal rdo-rje[49] (1203-1282),[50] student of Śākyaśrī. He is, by a few years almost the contemporary of Bu-ston, whom he survived, since he was present, after 1378, with Nam-mkha' bzaṅ-po, at an ordination.[51] In collaboration with the Kaśmīri Dharmadhara, he translated the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* of Nāropā (*Rg.*, III, 4) (158 p.).[52]

The other translations of Dharmadhara. all executed with the help of the same *lo-cā-ba*, are those of the following texts :

—*Kulalokanāthasādhanāloka* of Mahiman (*Rg.*, XLIV, 42) (7 p.) (cycle of Lokanātha);
—*Jambhalastotra*, attributed to Vikramāditya (*Rg.*, LXXII, 46) (1 p.);

47. Gzon-nu dpal mentions a Tibetan who was initiated by Śrīvimalakīrti and ordained by Śākyaśrī (*B.A.*, 447). The chronology prohibits confusing him with Vimalaśrībhadra (see also *Rg.*, LXXI, 372 and 373).
48. *B.A.*, p. 837.
49. This Rnam-rgyal rdo-rje is often difficult to recognize in the texts, because he is considered as an incarnation of Rgwa-lo and, due to that, he is often called Rgwa-lo also.
50. *B.A.*, pp. 790-792.
51. *B.A.*, p. 639.
52. According to the *Blue Annāls* (p. 838), the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* was translated by 'BRO, RWA, MAN-LUṄS PA, DPAṄ-LO, YAR-KLUṄS-LO.

—*Sambuddhabhāṣitapratimālakṣaṇavivaraṇa* (*Mdo*, CXXIII, 5) (7 p.);
—*Pratimālakṣana* of the Maharṣi Ātreya (*Mdo*, CXXIII, 7) (11 p.);
—*Sāmudrika nāma tanūlakṣaṇaparīkṣā* of Narada (*Mdo*, CXXIII, 34) (4 p.).

The translations of these three last texts, which depend on the *Śilpāśastra*, and for the last, on "somatic morphology", were requested by the Bhoṭapaṇḍita Dam-chos 'jin, and were done possibly at Sa-skya, possibly at Guṅ-thaṅ.

The monk (*dge-sloṅ*) Candrakīrti or Kīrticandra, Kaśmīri, according to the references which accompany the translation of the *Svabhāvatrayapraveśasiddhi*, also collaborated with Grags-pa rgyal-mchan. It is regrettable that his origin is not confirmed through another authority and, for that reason, remains subject to caution. Indeed, that monk accomplished very honourable work. Doubtless it is he who requested that the Tibetan translation of the *Sādhanamālā* (*Rg*., LXXI, 95-340 *bis*) should be done at Sa-skya. But he worked above all in Nepal at Svayambhū, in the Dhanvārāma, and it is there he translated, with the aid of the *lo-cā-ba* of Yar-kluṅs, some important texts :

—a *pañjikā* of the *Kriyāsaṅgraha* (attributed to Kuladatta) (*Rg*., LVII, 16) (320 p.);
—the *Amarakośa* (*Mdo*, CXVII, 1) (125 p.);
—a *ṭīkā* (incomplete) of the *Amarakośa* by Subhūticandra (*Mdo*, CXVII, 2) (129 p.);
—the *Lokānanda*, play in four acts, attributed to Candragomin (*Mdo*, XCII, 2) (70 p.);
—*Caryāgītikoṣavṛtti* of Munidatta (*Rg*., XLVII, 35) (102 p.).

It is necessary to add to that list a work of Kālacakra of secondary interest, the *Aṣṭāṣṭakena catuḥṣaṣṭiyoginībalividhi* (anonymous) (*Rg*., IV, 28) (6 p.) and the *Svabhāvatrayapraveśasiddhi* (*Mdo*, XVII, 21) (4 p.).

We learn from an incidental remark in the *Blue Annals*[53] of the existence of another Kaśmīri : Bhūmiśrī, about whom we

53. *B.A.*, p. 1047.

are otherwise ignorant, who transmitted the initiation of the *Vajrāvali* to the *lo-cā-ba* of Yar-kluṅs and whom, after Subhūtiśrī, Jayānanda and Śākyaśrībhadra, Gzon-nu dpal calls the great Paṇḍit from Kaśmīr.

Finally, Sumanaḥśrī collaborated with Bu-ston (1290-1364). With the help of the Tibetan scholar he translated a certain number of Buddhist texts, of which the *Padmajālodbhavasādhana* of Jayaśrījñāna *alias* Padmavajra (*Rg.*, XXVI, 70) (21 p.), and the *Padmāvalokiteśvarasya padmajālakramena bhagavanmaṇḍalapūjāvidhi* of the same author (*Rg.*, XXVI, 71) (30 p.). Gzon-nu dpal also mentions that Sumanaḥśrī taught to Bu-ston the cycle of Padmajāla. It is more astonishing to find in the *Bstan-'gyur* a Tibetan translation of the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa (*Mdo*, CXVII, 8) (29 p.), done at Sa-skya at the request of the Superior Nam-mkha' brtan-pa.[54] Sumanaḥśrī, in order to get to the end of that difficult undertaking, which merited for him the title of [*mahākavi*] joined with two Tibetan translators, Byaṅ-chub rce-mo and Nam-mkha' bzaṅ-pa.

Therefore are proved until the end of a collaboration which, since Thon-mi had lasted some seven centuries, the culture of the Kaśmīri master-teachers and the diversity of the interest of their Tibetan students. But that abundance of Kaśmīri Buddhists in Tibet does not fail to make one a little uneasy : it is permissible to wonder if the Mongolian invasion did not cause a massive exodus of the last monks, similar to that which, a little more than a century previous, had depopulated the monasteries of Magadha : far from being a token of vitality, that affluence would appear rather as the last flaring up of sparks from a fire which is dying out.

54. Edited and translated by Herman BECKH, *Die Tibetische Uebersezung von Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, nach dem roten und schwartzen Tanjur herausgegeben und ins deutsche übertranen von Herman Beckh*, Berlin, 1907, Anhang zu den Abhandlungen der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vom Jahre 1906.
Other translations of SUMANAHŚRĪ and of BU-STON :
Navaślоka of Kambalapāda (*Mdo*, XVI, 1 and CXXXIII, 10) (2 p.);
Āryasaptaślokikā bhagavatīprajñāpāramitā nāma sūtra (of KAMBALAPĀDA, according to the index the *Bstan-'gyur*) (*Mdo*, XVI, 2 and CXXXIII, 11).

8

Backward Glance

There are some chapters of history which end on an implicit promise. But this work here concludes in an atmosphere more desolate than that of the *Parinirvāṇa* : it is not the master-teacher who dies, but the heritage he left, the *dharma*, which sinks into oblivion.

The great names of Kaśmīri Buddhism during the 14th century do not testify only to the end of an age; they appear as the end of a survival. Since the pilgrimage of Hiouan-ts'ang, seven centuries have glared by, and Kaśmīri Buddhism accomplished an immense task until the 12th century : work of evangelisation and translation; speculative and practical research in spheres as diverse as criticism of knowledge, logic and psychosomatic techniques, without ommitting the pietist and even mystical aspect. The master-teachers of the 14th century, although learned, were turned towards the past.

But the temporal strength of a religion does not consist of doctors of divinity but of the faithful. Furthermore, so long as the monastery dwellers do not become landed proprietors, must not the monks depend for their subsistence on the lay faithful ? Yet the zealous *kalyāṇamitra*, protectors of the *saṅgha*, must have become very rare, at the start of the Mussulman occupation, there where they had been so numerous.

In that col of history, at the moment of commencing to

follow a new slope, it is fitting to question the causes of that decline of Buddhism in Kaśmīr : the more evident have, for that matter, been exposed very often when dealing with Indian Buddhism in general, but it is no doubt interesting to envisage them as the ransom of what was precisely the greatness of Buddhism.

The Kaśmīri monks were ardent missionaries. But they have only been able to play that role of first importance in the history of civilisation by going away from their native province. The grandeur of universal Buddhism coincided with the phase of expansion of India. At the time of retirement homeward and of subdivision, those great travelling monks must have seemed rather like strangers. Let us wager that, on returning from Tibet, Śākyaśrī was speaking with difficulty his mother tongue, the *janmabhāṣā*, about which Bilhaṇa speaks, and if he has, as we learn from the *Blue Annals*, worked for the Law, that was near cultured people and by expressing himself in Sanskrit. Formerly champion of the plebian language, Buddhism had remained with the *apabhraṃśa*, and the learned monks who knew Tibetan have neglected to write in Kaśmīri. It is a Śivaite, Lallā, who, at the start of the Mussulman occupation, has for the first time used the popular language of her country in mystic hymns.

Moreover, Buddhism assuredly owed the better part of its prestige to the purity of its moral ideal and to its instant appeal to the affective virtues of benevolence, and compassion, although endeavouring to strip them of their affective aspect. In a moral miscellany, the *Cārucaryāśātaka*, Kṣemendra expresses his sentiments of veneration in regard to the founder of Buddhism :

Paropakāraṃ saṃsārasāraṃ kurvīta sattvavān
nidadhe bhagavān buddhaḥ sarvasattvoddhṛtau dhiyam.

"To render service to others, that is truly to live; the holy Buddha had only one thought : the salvation of creatures".[1]

1. After translation by Sylvain LEVI, *La Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* de KṢEMENDRA, extract from the *Journal asiatiques*, Paris, 1886, p. 13.

Certainly, Kṣemendra is known for his favourable leanings towards Buddhism, but Kalhaṇa, during the following century, while stigmatising the Buddhists on different occasions, does not fail to bow before the person of the Buddha himself, nor to praise an eminent monk Śarvajñamitra.[2] The most curious passage of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* from that angle, concerns perhaps king Jalauka. In a desire for vengeance, the Buddhists had sent an enchantress (*kṛtyakā*) in order to kill that king, worshipper of Śiva, but they were unaware that Jalauka was in reality a future Buddha. The Bodhisattva revealed it to the sorceress and charged her to request the king to erect a *vihāra*, and that is the occasion for the witch to give the king a beautiful definition of what is a *bodhisattva*.[3]

Yet, whether one grants it or not, the methods of investigation of the unconscious and of liberation of the *vāsanā*, associated with belief in the inanity of appearances, have serioully injured the moral purity and have slyly inflected the Buddhistic ideal, inasmuch the cynicism of certain *vajrācārya* permited all forms of imposture. Kṣemendra, that great "bouddhophile" (Sylvain Lévy) furnishes many examples of it. He spares neither the nuns nor the monks. In the *Lokaprakāśa* is quoted a stanza which happens to belong to the initial text edited by Kṣemendra : it is little probable that there were still some *bhikṣu* at the time of editing the revision which has come down to us of that piece of writing, neither would have been interpolated a stanza concerning a *bhikṣu* at an epoch when the last Buddhists had disappeared from Kaśmīr :[4]

—bhikso, kanthā ślathā kim ?—nanu śapharavadhe (bandhe ?) jālikaiṣā—
'tsi matsyāṃs ?—te me madyāvadaṃśāḥ—pibasi madhu ?—samam veśyayā—
yāsi veśyām ?—dattvārīṇāṃ gale 'nghriṃ—kim u tava ripavo?—yeṣu saṃdhiṃ

2. *R.T.*, IV, 210.
3. *R.T.*, I, 139.
   Sāgase'pi na kupyanti kṣamayā copakurvate
   bodhiṃ svasyaiva neṣyanti te viśvoddharaṇodyatāḥ.
   They are not irritated, even against the sinner, they render service with patience, they do not choose to obtain their own awakening, for they have undertaken to deliver all (beings).
4. According to the text edited by A. WEBER, Kshemendra's Lokaprakāśa, *Indische Studien*, t. XVIII, p. 367.

chinadmi—cauras tvaṃ?—dyūtahetoḥ—tvam asi ca kitavas?—tena bhiksur—namas te.

"Monk, why is your frock stretched ?—Because I use it as a net in order to catch carp.—Do you eat fish ?—As a snack with wine.—You drink wine ?—In the company of a girl—You frequent a young girl ?—In giving a kick to the throat of my enemies.—Then you have enemies ?—Into whose place I penetrate by housebreaking.—You a robber ?—On account of the game.—You are also a gambler ?—That is why I am a monk.—Greetings to you !"

That stanza which is to be found in the commentary of Abhayadeva at the *Sthānāṅga*, as A. Weber points out, could have been interpreted in the light of the *sandhābhāṣā*. The allusion to wine, to fish, to the *veśyā* is clear, even that about enemies, which are the passions (it is through the bias of that interpretation that the word *arhant*, *ari-hant*, is rendered in Tibetan). The comparison of the game of chance is also met with in Buddhist texts, for example it is the theme of a *caryā* of Kāṇha.[5] Nevertheless, as has just been said, such modes of expression, used by some religious, could have seriously scandalised the non-initiated, and stirred up those whom sympathy was carrying towards Buddhism to regret the moral strictness of ancient monachism. Certainly, that would be to misapprehend, in considering as proof of opposition to Buddhism some epigrams directed against bad monks. In Christian territory, in a society where it is hardly possible to misunderstand the intentions of authors, the metrical tales are sometimes as severe as Kṣemendra is, and in the interior of Buddhism, a canonical text, the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā*, places in the mouth of the Buddha a prophecy the cruelty of which perhaps goes beyond that of Kṣemendra, although the style be not irony : the Master, throughout a discourse of several pages, stigmatises the bad monks "wanting in modesty, and in morality, impudent as crows, arrogant, irascible...".[6]

But there were in Kaśmīr monks — in appearance at least — scarcely respectable, even if scandalous practices for those who have not recognized universal vacuity have remained altogether exceptional. In spite of the reservations we have

5. SHAHIDULLAH, *Chants mystiques*, p. 118.
6. Louis FINOT, B.B., no. 2, 1901.

made,[7] the *siddha* could have appeared to be common magician; moreover, that is the echo which Marco Polo received, at the approximate time when the career of Kaśmīri Buddhism finishes :

Chesimur is a province which still has idolaters with languages for themselves. It conceives so much enchantment from devils that it is marvellous; for it makes idols talk. They can change the weather by enchantment, and can make it become dark; and so many great things are done that it is necessary to see to believe. And they tell you they are chieftains and that they have descended from the idols..." (chapter XLVIII).[8]

7. Chapter IV, pp. 143-145.
8. After the French text of Rusticien de Pise, edited by G. PAUTHIER, Paris, 1865, pp. 125-226. The less edifying aspect of that witchcraft is described by Kṣemendra. His Arghagharghāṭikā, the same who, is one of her roles, boasts of being more than 1000 years old, of understanding the *mantra* and alchemy (*Varṣānāṃ me sahasraṃ gatam adhikataraṃ vedmyahaṃ dhātuvādaṃ siddho me vakprapañcaḥ*...), disguised as a Buddhist nun under the admirably initiated name of Vajraghaṇṭā, used to distribute some prophecies and charms :

   sā Kṛtyāśramakaṃ gatvā vihāraṃ hāritasthitiḥ
   bhikṣukī Vajraghaṇṭākhyā babhūva dhyānaniścalā (61)
   pātraṃ tatra guṇocitaṃ karatale kṛtvātha bhikṣāspadaṃ
   jīrṇaṃ kāmukakūṭarāgasadṛśaṃ kāṣāyamādāya sā
   cakre muṇḍanamaṇḍanaṃ pariṇamatkūsmāṇḍakhaṇḍopaṃ
   piṇḍāptyai viṭaṭakkanāparicayaśreṇīvihāraṃ śiraḥ (62)
   paṭvī maṇḍalaśikṣāyai praṇatānāṃ sadaiva sā
   gṛhe gṛhe kulastrīṇāṃ dadau dauḥśīlyadeśanāṃ (63)
   vaśyaprayogair veśyānāṃ vaṇijām ṛddhivardhanaiḥ mantravādena
   mūrkhāṇāṃ sā paraṃ pūjyatāṃ yayau (64).

"Exceeding all limits, she made her way to the monastery of Kṛtyāśrama and made herself a nun under the name of Vajraghaṇṭā. She remained motionless, in meditation. She took in the palms of her hands the bowl destined for alms, which is congruous with virtue. She clothed herself in an old garment of a dark red colour, similar to the passion which used to deceive her lovers. Formerly captured for the familiar swarm of her dissolute lovers, her hand, bent in order to beg assumed a baldness which made her seem like half a pumpkin. Going from house to house, to mothers of families incessantly bent before her in order that she explains to them the *maṇḍala*, she gave the performance of her perverse conduct. However, in distributing some recipes of seduction to the street walkers, in increasing the gains of merchants and in reciting *mantra* to the foolish, she succeeded in making herself highly venerated."

The wizards, whose prodigious deeds astonished so poignantly the Venetian traveller received at the court of the grand Khan, were called "Tebet" and "Chesimur", "which are names of two nations of idolators." Yet, that last word in the language of Marco Polo, describes the Buddhists.[9] Sad illusion, at the same time last evidence of remote diffusion!

Finally, supreme paradox, Buddhism can have been victim of its excessive popularity. It had implanted itself so deeply in the Kaśmīri soil that it had been absorbed there more easily than in other provinces where it was established less firmly. The local *purāṇa*, the *Nīlamata*, which used to fix, as far as in the moot distant cantons, the ritual of peasant life, was already reserving a place for it. Among the Kaśmīri festivals it mentions the anniversary of the birth of the Buddha and, on that occasion, the offering of food and clothes to the monks.[10]

9. See in particular chapter LXI : "Recluses who hold maintenance of idols..." (from the French translation).
10. In particular by Nalinaksha DUTT, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. I, p. 11, Srinagar, K.S.S., 1939. Let us recall the text of that passage from the *Nīlamata*, many times quoted :

Viṣṇur devo jagannāthaḥ prāpte brahman kalau yuge
aṣṭāviṃśatime bhāvī Buddho nāma jagadguruḥ (684)
puṣyayukte niśānāthe vaiśākhe māsi kāśyapā
tasmāt kālād athārabhya kāle bhāvinytaḥ param (685)
śukle saṃpūjanaṃ tasya yathā kāryam tathā śṛṇu
sarvauṣadhaiḥ sarvaratnaiḥ sarvagandhais tathaivaca (686)
buddhārcāsnāpanaṃ kāryam śākyoktair vacanais tathā
suddhāsitāśca kartavyāḥ śākyāvāsāḥ prayatnataḥ (687)
kvacic citrayutāḥ kāryāś caityā devagṛhās tathā
utsavaṃ ca tathā kāryaṃ naṭanartakasaṃkulam (688)
śākyānāṃ pūjanaṃ kāryaṃ cīvarāhārapustakaiḥ...(689)

"The god Viṣṇu, protector of the world, when had arrived the *kaliyuga* of the 28th (*kalpa*), appeared, o brahmin, as instructor of the world under the name of Buddha, master of the night, being in conjunction with the constellation *Puṣya* in the month of *vaiśākha*, o Kāśyapa ! Starting from that time, in the time to come, the day of the full moon (of the month of *vaiśākha*) must be celebrated his solemn cult. Here is how, listen : it is necessary to wash the statue of the Buddha, dress it with all kinds of salves, with jewels perfumes, according to the words of the Śākya (monks). The residence of the Śākya must be made as clean as a sparkling nectar. It is necessary to ornament with various colours the temples and the sanctua-

(*Contd.*)

After all, what was the religion of the countryside ? Śivaism ? Very surely, but especially that nameless religion made up of rites linked with the rhythms of country life and cults to local divinities, to innumerable *nāga* of the springs and lakes.

The pilgrimages, the *yātrā*, ancestors of the modern *mela*, had a secular acpect. They were occasions for reunions, for contacts—that is the meaning of *mela* in Sanskrit—, and in the heart of the village or of the family, the faithful of the various religious groups used alike to take part : it is doubtless in those conditions that a local tutelary spirit, topographically anchored in the soil of Kaśmīr and already assimilated to Śiva, Nandikeśvara, became the divinity of Vajrayāna.[11]

Tolerance ? Concurrence ? Syncretism ? or more simply confusion ?

In its popular context, it is as though Buddhism hardly seems a distinct religion, and the differences revealed themselves as more negligible again when Islam was preached. On the contrary, then appeared a unity of belief and hope, which expresses itself through the pen of a late chronicler, a writer somewhat mediocre, who perhaps renders yet more moving his twinge of concience : invoking He who, pure unconditioned light (*niṣkīlitaṃ mahas*), imposes karmic links in time and space (*deśakālakalanā*), Jonarāja proclaims :

ātmā vāstu śivo'stu vāstvatha hariḥ so' pyatmabhūr astu vā
buddho vāstu jino'stu vāstvatha paraṃ tasmai namaḥ kurmahe.
(2d *R.T.*, stanza 250)

"Whether He be the *ātman* or whether He be Śiva or indeed Hari, whether He be Brahmā of the Buddha or yet again the Jina, let us render to Him supreme homage !"

ries. It is necessary to give a hearty welcome with a multitude of dancers. One must render worship to the monks with offerings of clothing, of food, of books". *Śloka* 684-689 of the edition of Vreese.

11. See above, p. 113.

Panel I

Kaśmīri royal chronology

Kārkoṭa Dynasty

	Length of reign (*R.T.*)	Dates (*R.T.*)	Reigned in (Chines Sources)	Corrected dates of 24 years
Durlabhavardhana	36 years	602-638		626-662
Durlabhaka-Pratāpāditya II	50 years	638-688		662-712
Candrāpīḍa-Vajrāditya	8y. 8 m.	688-696/7	713&720	712-720/1
Tārāpīḍa-Udayāditya	4 years	696/7-700/1	(this difference	720/1-724/5
Muktāpīḍa-Lalitāditya	36y. 7m.	700/1-737	forces to anticipate	724/5-761
Successors of Lalitāditya (5 reigns)	15 years	737-752	25 years of the dates	
Jayāpiḍa-Vinayāditya	31 years	752-783	furnished by the *R.T.*	
Lalitāpīḍa	12 years	783-795	for the be-	
Saṃgrāmāpīḍa II	7 years	795-802	ginnings of	
Cippaṭajayāpīḍa	12 years	802-814	the dynasty,	
Ajitāpīḍa and his successors (3 reigns)	42 years	814-856	exactly 23 to 25 years	
			for Vajrāditya's reign.)	

Utpala Dynasty

Avantivarman	856-883
Śaṃkaravarman	883-902
Gopālavarman and his successors (3 reigns)	902-906
Pārtha	906-921
Successors of Pārtha (9 reigns)	921-939
Yaśaskaradeva	939-948
Varṇata and his successors (3 reigns)	948-950
Kṣemagupta	950-958
Abhimanyu	958-972
Nandigupta	972-973
Tribhuvanagupta	973-975
Bhīmagupta	975-980
Diddā	980/1-1003

First Lohara Dynasty

Saṃgrāmarāja	1003-1028
Ananta	1028-1063
Kalaśa	1063-1089
Harṣa	1089-1101

Second Lohara Dynasty

Uccala	1101-1111
Salhaṇa	1111-1120
Bhikṣācara	1120-1121
Sussala	1121-1128
Jayasiṃha	1128-ca. 1154
Paramānuka	ca. 1154-1164
Varttideva	1164-1171

Late Hindu Kings

Vuppadeva	1171-1180
Jassaka	1180-1198
Jagaddeva	1198-1212
Rājadeva	1213-1235
Saṃgrāmadeva	1235-1252
Rāmadeva	1252-1273
Lakṣmaṇadeva	1273-1286
Siṃhadeva	1286-1301
Sahadeva	1301-1320

Panel II

Pāla Chronology

After Tāranātha		*After Indian sources*[5]		
	S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa[1]		*R.L. Mitra*[2]	*R.C. Majumdar and D.C. Ganguly*[3]
Gopāla	660-705	Gopāla	855-875	750-770
Devapāla	705-753	Dharmapāla	875-895	770-810
Rasapāla	753-765	Devapāla	895-915	810-850
Dharmapāla	765-829	Vigrahapāla I	915-935	850-853
Masurakṣita	829-837	Nārāyaṇapāla	935-955	853-908
Vanapāla	837-847	Rājyapāla	955-975	
Mahīpāla	847-899	Gopāla II	975-995	908-988
Mahāpāla	899-940	Vigrahapāla II	995-1015	
Śāmupāla	940-952	Mahīpāla	1015-1040	988-1038
Śreṣṭhapāla	952-955	Nayapāla	1040-1060	1038-1055
Caṇaka	955-983	Vigraha-pāla III	1060-1080	1055-1070
Bhayapāla	983-1015	Mahīpāla II		1070-1075
Nayapāla	1015-1050	Śūrapāla		1075-1077
Āmrapāla	1050-1063	Rāmapāla		1077-1120
Hastipāla	1063-1078	Kumārapala[4]		1120-1125
Ksāntipāla	1078-1092	Gopāla III		1125-1144
Rāmapāla	1092-1138	Madanapāla		1144-1161
Yakṣapāla	1138-1139			

NOTES OF PANEL II

1. S.C. Vidhyābhūṣaṇa, *The Mediaeval School of Indian Logic.*
2. R.L. Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. II, p. 232.
3. R.C. Majumdar and B.C. Ganguly, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Bombay, 1955, pp. 44-55, and *The Struggle for Empire*, Bombay, 1957, pp. 24-33.
4. Yakṣapāla was then reigning in Bihār.
5. Though it does not enlighten our present topic, we cannot neglect the light—but important alterations which D.C. SIRCAR has proposed for the chronology of the Pāla monarchs in the course of various articles and particularly in Comments on the Pāla chronology in Dr. R.C. Majumdar's History of Ancient Bengal, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, XVIII. 1-4, 1976, pp. 97-98.

The revised chronology given by D.C. Sircar reads as follows :

Gopāla	750-775
Dharmapāla	775-812
Devapāla	812-850
Śūrapāla	850-858
Vigrahapāla I	858-860
Nārāyaṇapāla	860-917
Rājyapāla	917-952
Gopāla II	952-972
Vigrahapāla II	972-977
Mahīpāla I	977-1027
Nayapāla	1027-1043
Vigrahapāla III	1043-1070
Mahīpāla II	1070-1071
Śūrapāla II	1071-1072
Rāmapāla	1072-1126
Kumārapāla	1126-1128
Gopāla III |	1128-1162
Madanapāla |	
Govindapāla	1162-1165
Palapāla	1165-1199

The main points of divergence between Majumdar's and Sircar's chronologies are thus the distinction of Śūrapāla and of Vigrahapāla in the second chronology and their confusion in the first one; the existence of a king named Palapāla at the end of the dynasty in Sircar's chronology, while the king is ignored by R.C. Majumdar's one. (Claudine Picron)

N.B. We have avoided repeating the mention circa before each date, but all these dates are only presented as approximations by the authors who propose them.

Panel III

Compared Chronology of the kings from Kaśmīr, Tibet and Bengal from 7th to 9th century

Kings of Kaśmīr		*King of Tibet (after B.A.)*		*Pāla Dynasty*	
Durlabhavardhana-Prajñāditya	602-638	Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po	568-649		
Pratāpāditya II	638-688	Maṅ-sroṅ maṅ-bcan	650-676		
Candrāpīḍa-Vajrāditya	688-697	Khri'du sroṅ	676-704		
Tārāpīḍa-Udayāditya	697-701				
Muktāpīḍa-Lalitāditya	701-738				
From Kuvalayāpīḍa to Jajja	738-753	Khri-lde gcug-bcan	705-754		
Jayāpīḍa-Vinayāditya	753-784	Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan	754-780	Gopāla	750-770
Lalitāpīḍa	784-796	Mu-ne bcan-po	780-797	Dharmapāla	770-810
Saṃgrāmāpīḍa II	796-803	Ju-ce bcan-po	797-804		

Kings of Kaśmīr		*Kings of Tibet (after B.A.)*		*Pāla Dynasty*	
Cippaṭajayāpīḍa-Bṛhaspati	803-815	Khri-lde sroṅ-bcan	804-114		
Ajitāpīḍa	815-852	Ral-pa-can	821-836	Devapāla	810-850
		Accession of Glaṅ dar-ma	836		
Avantivarman	855-883	Death of Glaṅ dar-ma	841	Vigrahapāla I	850-853
Śaṃkaravarman	883-902			Nārāyaṇapāla	853-908

Panel IV

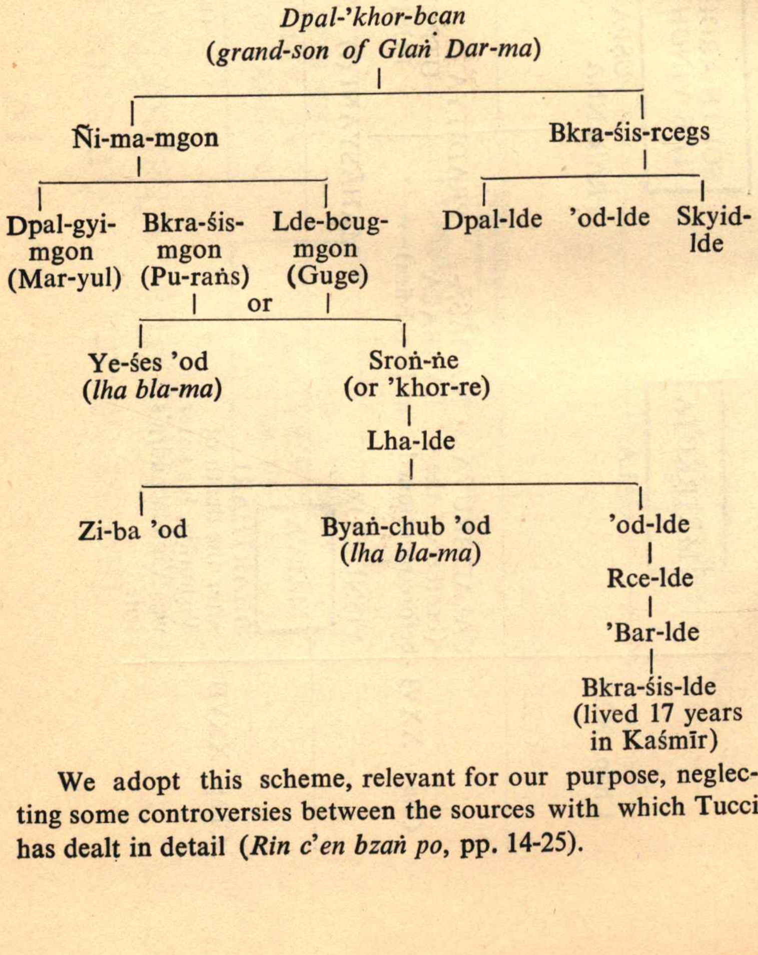
Indian Sovereigns Anterior to the Pāla After Tāranātha : Chapter XXIII-XXVII

	IN THE WESTERN (SURĀṢTRA, RĀJPUTĀNA, UPTO KANAUJ)	MADHYADEŚA AND PART OF THE EAST / KAŚMĪR	IN THE EAST (MAGADHA, TIRHUT BENGAL, ASSAM)	OḌIVIŚA
Chap. XXIII	HARṢA	MAHĀSAMMATA	VIGAMACANDRA	NĀGEŚA
			KĀMACANDRA	DĀRIKA
Chap. XXIV	ŚĪLA (reigned nearly hundred years)		SIṂHACANDRA Vassal of	{ SIṂHA / BHARṢA }

	MĀTṚKOṬA		SOUTH AROUND THE VINDHYA		
Chap. XXV	CALA		PUṢPA (?) PRASANNA	BĀLACANDRA (only in the Tirhut)	PAÑCAMASIṂHA
Chap. XXVI	CALADHRUVA (brother of the before-mentioned) VIṢṆURĀJA	MAHĀŚĀKYABALA (at Haridvāra)	PRADITYA MAHĀSYANI (?)	UTPHULLA-PUṢPA (?) VIMALACANDRA	
Chap. XXVII	MĀLVA BHARTHĀRI after the death of Viṣṇurāja, his sister was Vimalacandra's wife.			GOVICANDRA (nephew of Bharthāri) LALITACANDRA	

Annex I

Simplified Genealogy of the Kings of Guge



We adopt this scheme, relevant for our purpose, neglecting some controversies between the sources with which Tucci has dealt in detail (*Rin c'en bzaṅ po*, pp. 14-25).

Annex II

List of Kaśmīri Authors and Translators

(*K. : Kaśmīri; N. : Nepalese; A. : Author; T. : Translator; Col. : Collaborator; M.S.V. : Mūlasarvāstivādin; L. : Logic; K.C. : Kālacakra*)

ABHAYAKĪRTI : important A. of XIth c., sometimes named as K., sometimes as N. (K.C.).

ALAṄKĀRAKALAŚA : K.T., beginning of XIIth c., col. of Ñi-ma grags.

ĀNANDA : K.T. and interpreter in Tibet, end of VIIIth c.

KANAKAVARMAN : K.T., end of XIth c., col. of Ñi-ma-grags.

KUMĀRAŚRĪ : K.A.T. (L.), end of XIth c.

KUMĀRAPRAJÑA : K. copist, beginning of XIIth c.

KṢEMENDRA : non-Buddhist K.A. of the *Avadānakalpalatā*, finished in 1052.

GAMBHĪRAVAJRA : K.A., uncertain date.

GUṆĀKARA : K.T.A., XIth c. (?).

GUHYAPRAJÑA : converted K. Brahmin, known under the name of the Red Master (Dmar-po), XIth c.

CANDRAKĪRTI : K.T., Col. of the *lo.* of Yar-kluṅs, Gregs-pa rgyal-mchan, not to be confused with the famous author Prāsaṅgika (XIVth c.).

CANDRANANDANA : K. doctor of Xth c.

JANĀRDANA : K.T., Col. of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po, beginning of XIth c.

JAYĀNANDA : K.A.T., Col. of Mdo-sde 'bar, end of XIth c.

JINAMITRA : Important K.T. of IXth c., Vaibhāṣika.
JINAPUTRA : K.A., uncertain date (anterior to IXth c.) (named as T. Rgyal-ba'i sras-po, not to be confused with Nāropā who is sometimes named Yaśomitra or Rgyal-ba'i sras).
JINARAKṢITA : K.A. of the *ṭīkā* of the hymn to the Tārā of the K. Sarvajñamitra.
JÑĀNAGUHYA : 1° K.T., Col. of Gzon-nu śes-rab (Dmar-po ?) (*Rg.*, XLVII, 54), student of Paramabuddha, 2° K.T. of XIIIth c.
JÑĀNAŚRĪMITRA : Important K.A.T. from XIth c. (L., K.C.).
JÑĀNABHADRA : K. master of Xth c., who ordained Rin-chen bzaṅ-po in 988.
TATHĀGATABHADRA : K.T., end of XIIIth c.
TILAKAKALAŚA : K.A., end of XIth c., Col. of Ñi-ma grags.
DĀNAŚĪLA : K.T. from IXth c.
DHARMADHARA : K.T., Col. of the *lo.* of Yar-kluṅs, XIVth c.
DHARMAVAJRA : K.T., XIth c.
DHARMAŚRĪ : K.A. and T., Col. of the *lo.* of Ba-reg.
DHARMĀKARA : K.T. from IXth c.
NAKKA : K. Buddhist from XIth c., instigator of the *Avadānakalpalatā*.
NARASADEVA : K.T., XIth c.
NARAYADEVA : K.T. (*B.A.*, p. 86), to be read Narasadeva.
PARAHITABHADRA : K.T. from the end of XIth c., Col. of Ñi-ma grags (L.).
PRAJÑĀRAKṢITA : K. student of Nāropā (*B.A.*, p. 120).
PRAJÑĀŚRĪGUPTA : K.A.T., also known as Guhyaprajña (Dmar-po).
PRAJÑĀVARMAN : K.T. from IXth c.
BALAŚRĪBHADRA : K.A., uncertain date.
BUDDHAŚRĪBHADRA : K.T., from the first half of the XIth c., Col. of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po.
BUDDHAŚRĪJÑĀNA : K.A. and T. from about 1200 A.D., not to be confused with the famous *vajrācārya*, student of Haribhadra (IXth c., Taxila ?).
BUDDHĀKARAVARMAN : K.T., Col. of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po.

BHADRABODHI : Important K.T., K.C., beginning of XIth c.
BHAVYARĀJA : K.T., end of XIth c.
BHŪMĪŚRĪ : K. from the beginning of XIVth c.
MANORATHA : K.T., end of XIth c.
MAHĀJANA : K.A.T., 2nd half of the XIth c.
MAHĀSUMATI : K.T., end of XIth c.
RATNAVAJRA : Important K.A.T., beginning of XIth c.
RAVIGUPTA : See Sūryagupta.
RŪPYAKALAŚA : K.A., uncertain date.
VAJRABODHI : identical to Bhadrabodhi.
VASUMITRA : Master contemporary of Hiouan-ts'ang (T.N., p. 172).
VIDYĀSIMHA : K. Brahmin converted by Dharmakīrti (T.N., p. 183).
VIDYĀKARASIMHA : K.T., end of XIth c.
VINĀYAKA : K.T., end of XIth c.
VIMALAMITRA : M S.V. K. pupil of Saṅghabhadra.
VIMALAŚRĪBHADRA : K.A. and T., XIVth c.
VĪRYABHADRA : K. from the XIth c., who helped Kṣemendra to prepare the *Avadānakalpalatā*.
VĪRAVAJRA : K., XIth c., Col. of Jñānaśrīmitra (may be identical to the before-mentioned one).
VIŚĀKHADEVA : M.S.V. from Kaśmīr, student of Saṅghadāsa.
VIŚEṢAMITRA : M.S.V. K.
ŚĀṄKARĀNANDA : K. Brahmin, author of L.
ŚĀKYAPRABHA : M.S.V. K., student of Puṇyakīrti (after T.N).
ŚĀKYAMATI : K. from the epoch of Gopāla (Bengal) and Harṣa (Kaśmīr), after T.N. (p. 204).
ŚĀKYAŚRĪBHADRA : K. master, rector of Vikramaśīla at the time of the Turco-Afghanese invasion.
ŚRADDHĀKARAVARMAN : Important K.T., Col. of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po.
ŚRĪRATHA : K.T. from the end of XIth c.
ŚRĪLAKṢMĪ : K. nun, devotee of Avalokiteśvara, XIth c.
SAJJANA : K. Brahmin, master of the *Uttaratantra*, XIth c.
SARVAJÑAMITRA : K. monk, follower of the Tārā, and important T., end of VIIIth c.-IXth c.

SARVAJÑAŚRĪRAKṢITA : K. T. from the 2nd half of XIIth c. and from the beginning of XIIIth c.
SAṄGAMAŚRĪBHADRA : K.T., uncertain dates.
SAṄGHABHADRA : M.S.V. K., commentator of the *Vibhāṣa*.
SAṄGHADĀSA : Student of Vasubandhu, native from the South, invited in Kaśmīr.
SAMBOGHAVAJRA : K.A. and T., uncertain date.
SUKṢMAJANA : K. Brahmin, T., end of XIth c.—beginning of XIIth c.
SUKHARĀJA : See Kṣemarāja.
SUGATAŚRĪ : K.T. from about 1200.
SUBHŪTIŚRĪSĀNTI : K.T. and master, XIth c.
SUMANAḤŚRĪ : K.T. of XIVth c., Col. of Bu-ston.
SŪRYAGUPTA : K. master follower of the Tārā, VIIIth c. Not to be confused with the A. of treatises of L. of an uncertain origin and more recent.
SOMANĀTHA : K.T., K.C., XIth c.
SOMAŚRĪ : K. Parahita master, XIth c.
SOMENDRA : Son of Kṣemendra, A. of a 108th *avadāna*.

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